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NAVAL AND MILITARY

H I S T O R Y

OF THE

WARS OF ENGLAND;

INCLUDING,

The WARS of SCOTLAND and IRELAND.

IN WHICH IS GIVEN,

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NONE BUT THE BRAVE DESERVE THE FAIR.

V O L. II.

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T H E
NAVAL AND MILITARY
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
WARS OF ENGLAND.

OF THE WARS OF ENGLAND DURING THE REIGN
OF RICHARD II. AND UNDER THE HOUSE OF
LANCASTER.

THE renowned Edward the Black Prince left an infant son, only eleven years of age, who, on the death of Edward III. his grandfather, was crowned, in 1377, by the name of Richard II. The parliament entrusted the management of public affairs to the king's three uncles, during his minority: these were John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, then styled king of Castile and Leon; and the dukes of York and Gloucester. The different dispositions of these noblemen, it was thought, would cause them to check the designs of each other. Lancaster was neither popular nor enterprising; York was indolent and weak; and Gloucester turbulent, popular, and ambitious. The new reign was ushered in with a spirited attack made by the French on the southern coast of the kingdom, with fifty sail of ships, commanded by Admiral de Vienne, nephew to that brave governor who so long defended Calais against Edward III. They reduced the town of Rye, in Suffex, to ashes;

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and, proceeding westward, landed on the Isle of Wight, which they plundered with great fury; Portsmouth, Dartmouth, and Plymouth, also felt the rage of these invaders, whilst the regency took no effectual measures to recover the national repose and honour. The nobility and ecclesiastics in those parts got together what force they could muster, and, unsupported by government, made head against the French, whom they, at length, obliged to retreat to their ships, and return home.

At this time the spirit of the nation, although damped by the inactivity of the executive power of government, was not to be suppressed. A noble instance of patriotism blazed out at this season of national languor. John Philpot, an alderman of London, who had grown immensely rich by commerce, at his own private expence fitted out a naval force, on-board of which he embarked a thousand men at arms; proceeding with this squadron to the northward, he went in quest of a Scotch commander, who, with some vessels, was riding triumphant on those seas, having taken several ships; and, at length, was joined by a fleet, consisting of French and Spanish ships: however, this brave merchant resolutely attacked and totally defeated their combined force. The Scotch ships, and their commander, named Mercer, were taken, with all their plunder; fifteen Spanish vessels, richly laden, likewise became the prey of the conqueror.---True patriotism has frequently been obliged to find its recompense in conscious rectitude of heart. Intriguing factions, insidious ministers, or capricious kings, frequently cause public services to go unrewarded; frequently unacknowledged: so it fared with this valiant citizen of London; he was called before the council of state as a delinquent, for daring to man a squadron without legal authority; probably, the prizes he had made drew on him the envy of a greedy ministry. But Philpot conducted himself so
well

well before the council, that he extorted from the lords who composed it their thanks for his conduct.

In the year 1378 the Duke of Lancaster, with a large army and fleet, failed to assist the Duke of Bretagne in defending and securing the British territories in France conquered during the last reign. He landed at St. Maloes, to which place he laid siege; but, unable to reduce it, he struck his tents, and returned to England, having added nothing to his military reputation by this expedition. The next year Sir John Arundel, who had bravely repulsed the French when they landed in Devonshire, failed for Bretagne, with a considerable re-inforcement, but, being overtaken by a violent tempest, his squadron was dispersed and the greatest part was shipwrecked on the coasts of Ireland, Wales, or Cornwall: himself, and a thousand men at arms, perished. The next year other supplies were sent from England, under the command of the Earl of Buckingham, Sir Robert Knollis, and Sir Hugh Calverly: not willing again to risk the dangers of the sea, they were transported to Calais, and marched from thence to Bretagne; but these brave troops were cruelly neglected by the government at home, insomuch that a want of necessaries obliged them to evacuate the country, and seek their native home in small parties, as fugitives and vagabonds: at the same time the French galleys burnt Gravesend, and plundered the Kentish coast. Discontents in consequence arose among the common people. They had acquired a share of liberty sufficient to inspire them with a desire for more, and this desire was greatly encreased by the discourses of one John Ball, a seditious preacher. He went about the country, and inculcated on his audience, that mankind were all derived from one common stock; and that all of them had equal right to liberty and the goods of nature, of which they had been deprived by the ambition of a few insolent rulers. These doctrines were greedily swallowed by the populace, who were farther inflamed by a new imposition,

or poll-tax, of three groats a-head upon every person in the kingdom above fifteen years of age. This had been granted as a supply by parliament, and was no doubt necessary on account of the many expensive wars in which the kingdom was engaged; but its apparent injustice, in laying no more burden upon the rich than the poor, excited the utmost resentment of the people. The manner, too, of collecting this tax, soon furnished them with an occasion of revolt. It began in Essex, where a report was industriously spread that the peasants were to be destroyed, their houses burned, and their farms plundered. A blacksmith, well known by the name of Wat Tyler, was the first that excited them to arms. The tax-gatherers, coming to this man's house while he was at work, demanded payment for his daughter. This he refused, alledging that she was under the age mentioned in the act. One of these fellows offered to produce a very indecent proof to the contrary, and at the same time laid hold of the maid. This the father resenting, immediately knocked out the ruffians brains with his hammer. The byestanders applauded the action; and exclaimed that it was high time for the people to take vengeance on their tyrants, and to vindicate their native liberty. The whole country immediately took arms, and the insurgents soon amounted to above an hundred thousand men. They advanced to Blackheath, where they sent a message to the king, who had taken shelter in the tower, desiring a conference with him. The king was willing to comply with their demands, but was intimidated by their fierce behaviour. In the mean time they entered the city, burning and plundering the houses of such as were obnoxious for their power or riches. Their animosity was particularly levelled against the lawyers, to whom they shewed no mercy. The king at last, knowing that the tower was not able to resist their assaults, went out among them, and desired to know their demands. To this they made a very

humble remonstrance ; requiring a general pardon, the abolition of slavery, freedom of commerce in the market-towns, and a fixed rent instead of those services required by the tenure of villenage. The king granted all these requests ; and charters were made out by which the grant was ratified. In the mean time, however, another body of these insurgents had broke into the tower, and murdered the chancellor, the primate, and the treasurer, with some other officers of distinction. They then divided themselves into bodies, and took up their quarters in different parts of the city. At the head of one of these was Wat Tyler, who led his men into Smithfield, where he was met by the king, who invited him to a conference under pretence of hearing and redressing his grievances. Tyler ordered his companions to retire till he should give them a signal, and boldly ventured to begin a conference with the king in the midst of his retinue. His demands were, That all slaves should be set free ; that all commonages should be open to the poor as well as to the rich ; and that a general pardon should be passed for the late outrages. Whilst he made these demands, he now and then lifted up his sword against the king, in a menacing manner : which insolence so raised the indignation of William Walworth, lord mayor of London, that, without considering the danger to which he exposed his majesty, he stunned Tyler with a blow of his mace ; while one of the king's knights riding up dispatched him with his sword. The mutineers, seeing their leader fall, prepared themselves to take revenge. Their bows were already bent for execution ; when Richard, though not yet sixteen years of age, rode up to the rebels, and with admirable presence of mind cried out : " What, my people, will you kill your king ? Be not concerned for the loss of your leader. I myself will now be your general. Follow me into the fields, and you shall have whatever you desire." The multitude immediately desisted, and followed

lowed the king into the fields, where he granted them the same charters that he had before granted to their companions. These charters, however, were soon after revoked, and the common people reduced to the same situation in which they had formerly been.

The courage, address, and presence of mind, which the king had discovered in quelling such a dangerous tumult, gave great hopes to the nation : but, in proportion as Richard advanced in years, these hopes were blasted ; and his want of capacity, or at least of solid judgment, appeared in every enterprise he attempted. The king had unluckily lost the favour of the common people after the insurrection just mentioned. He allowed the parliament to revoke the charters of enfranchisement and pardon which had been granted ; some of the ringleaders in the late disorders had been severely punished, and some even put to death without any form of process or trial. Thus the popular leaders were greatly exasperated by this cruelty, though probably the king did not follow the dictates of his own mind so much in it as the advice of his counsellors. But, having thus lost the favour of one party, he quickly after fell under the displeasure of the other also. Supposing himself to be in too great subjection to his uncles, particularly the Duke of Gloucester, he attempted to shake off the yoke, by raising others to such a degree of power as might completely rival them. His first favourite was Robert de Vere earl of Oxford, a young man of an agreeable person, but dissolute in his behaviour, who soon acquired an absolute ascendant over him. So much was he determined to shew his attachment to this nobleman, that he first created him Marquis of Dublin, a title never known in England before ; then Duke of Ireland ; transferring to him the entire sovereignty of that island by patent for life. He gave him in marriage his cousin-german, the daughter of the Earl of Bedford : but soon after permitted him to divorce her for another lady with whom he had fallen
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in love. This nobleman soon became the dispenser of all the king's favours to such a degree, that a conspiracy was formed against him; at the head of which were Mowbray earl of Nottingham, Fitz Alan earl of Arundel, Percy earl of Northumberland, Montacute, earl of Salisbury, and Beauchamp earl of Warwick. Vere was impeached in parliament; and, though nothing of moment was even alledged against him, he was condemned and deprived of his office. They next proceeded to attack the royal authority itself. Under pretence that the king was yet unable to govern the kingdom, though at that time twenty-one years of age, they appointed a commission of fourteen persons to whom the sovereignty was to be transferred for a year. This measure was driven forward by the Duke of Gloucester, and none but his own faction were admitted as members of the committee. The king could not without regret perceive himself thus totally deprived of authority. He first endeavoured to gain over the parliament to his interests, by influencing the sheriffs of each county, who were then the only returning-officers. This measure failing, he next applied to the judges. They declared, that the commission which had deprived the king of his authority was unlawful, and that those who procured or advised it were punishable with death. Their sentence was quickly opposed by declarations from the lords. The Duke of Gloucester armed his partisans; and appeared at Haringay-park, near Highgate, at the head of a body of men sufficient to intimidate the king and all his adherents. These insurgents, sensible of their own power, began by demanding of the king the names of those who had advised him to his late rash measures. A few days afterwards they appeared armed in his presence, and accused by name the Archbishop of York, the Duke of Ireland, the Earl of Suffolk, and Sir Robert Tresilian, one of the judges who had declared in his favour, together with Sir Nicholas Bember, as public and dan-

gerous enemies to the state. The Duke of Ireland fled into Cheshire, where he attempted to raise a body of forces; but was quickly obliged to fly into Flanders, on the arrival of the Duke of Gloucester with a superior army. Soon after, the king was obliged to summon a parliament, where an accusation was drawn up against five of his counsellors. Of these, only Sir Nicholas Bember was present; and he was quickly found guilty, condemned, and executed, together with Sir Robert Tresilian, who had been discovered and taken during the interval. Lord Beauchamp of Holt was soon after condemned and executed; and Sir Simon Burley, who had been appointed the king's governor, shared the same fate, though the queen continued for three hours on her knees before the Duke of Gloucester, imploring his pardon.

Such unparalleled insolence and barbarity in a subject could not go unpunished. In 1389, the king, at an extraordinary council of the nobility assembled after Easter, to the astonishment of all present, desired to know his age. Being told that he was turned of two and twenty, he alledged that it was then time for him to govern without help, and that there was no reason why he should be deprived of those rights which the meanest of his subjects enjoyed. The lords answered, in some confusion, that he had certainly an undisputed right to take upon himself the government of the kingdom. "Yes (replied the king), I have long been under the government of tutors; and I will now first shew my right to power by their removal." He then ordered Thomas Arundel, whom the commissioners had lately appointed chancellor, to give up the seals; which he next day delivered to William of Wickham, bishop of Winchester. He next removed the Duke of Gloucester, the Earl of Warwick, and other lords of the opposition, from the council; and all the great officers of the household, as well as the judges, were changed.

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The king, being thus left at liberty to govern as he thought proper, for some time behaved in such a manner as to gain the affections of the people. It does not appear indeed that he ever gave much cause of complaint; but it was impossible for any prince in those days to keep himself secure on the throne but by a very severe and vigorous administration. The Duke of Gloucester, perceiving that Richard was not of a warlike disposition, frequently spoke with contempt of his person and government, and deliberated concerning the lawfulness of throwing off all allegiance to him. The king, being informed of his conduct by spies appointed for that purpose, at last formed a resolution of ridding himself of Gloucester and his faction at once. He therefore ordered that nobleman to be immediately arrested and sent over to Calais, where there was no danger of his being rescued by his numerous adherents. The earls of Arundel and Warwick were seized at the same time; and a new parliament, which the king knew would be perfectly obedient to his will, was summoned to Westminster. Here the commission of fourteen, who had usurped on the royal authority, was annulled for ever; all those acts which had condemned his former ministers were repealed; and the general pardon, which the king had formerly given when he assumed the government into his own hands, was revoked. Several of Gloucester's party were condemned and executed; and at last that nobleman himself was called for to take his trial as well as the rest; but he had before been privately dispatched in prison.

In the year 1385, Charles VI. the French king, determined to invade England, as the most effectual means of wresting from that crown the few places it still held in France. For this purpose he is said to have drawn together twelve hundred and eighty-seven sail; but the enterprise fell to the ground. A considerable part of this vast fleet was driven, by a tempest, on the English coast, and became a prey either of the

waves or the enemy. Upwards of one hundred sail of French, Spanish, and Flemish, merchant-men, were attacked by the earls of Arundel and Nottingham, and taken; and father Daniel, the French historian, owns, that during the remainder of Charles the VIth's reign, and throughout that of his successor Charles VII. his country attempted very little at sea.

Soon after the destruction of the Duke of Gloucester and the heads of his party, a misunderstanding arose among the noblemen who had joined in the prosecution. The Duke of Hereford appeared in parliament, and accused the Duke of Norfolk of having spoken seditious words against his majesty in a private conversation. Norfolk denied the charge, gave Hereford the lie, and offered to prove his innocence by single combat. The challenge was accepted; but, on the day appointed for the duel, the king would not suffer the combatants to engage, but commanded both of them to leave the kingdom. The Duke of Norfolk he banished for life, but the Duke of Hereford only for ten years. The former retired to Venice, where in a short time he died of a broken heart. Hereford behaved in a resigned and submissive manner; which so pleased the king, that he consented to shorten the time of his banishment four years; he also granted him letters patent, ensuring him of the enjoyment of any inheritance which should fall to him during his absence; but upon the death of his father the Duke of Lancaster, which happened shortly after, Richard revoked those letters; and kept the estate to himself.

This last injury inflamed the resentment of Hereford to such a degree, that he formed a design of dethroning the king. He was a great favourite both with the army and people; he was immensely rich, and connected by blood or alliance with all the great families of the nation. The king at the same time, gave himself up to an idle effeminate life; and his ministers following his example, the national honour was lost.

lost. The number of malcontents daily increased, and only waited for the absence of the king, in order to put their schemes in execution; and this opportunity soon offered.

The Earl of March, presumptive heir to the crown, having been appointed the king's lieutenant in Ireland, was slain in a skirmish with the natives of that country; which so incensed Richard, that, unmindful of his precarious situation at home, he went over to Ireland with a considerable army, in order to revenge his death in person. The Duke of Lancaster (for that was the title which Hereford assumed on the death of his father), hearing of the king's absence, instantly embarked at Nantz; and, with a retinue only of sixty persons in three small vessels, landed at Ravenspur in Yorkshire. The Earl of Northumberland, who had long been a malcontent, together with Henry Percy his son, who from his ardent valour was surnamed *Hotspur*, immediately joined him with their forces; and the people flocked to him in such numbers, that in a few days his army amounted to 60,000 men.

Richard, in the mean time, continued in perfect security in Ireland for some time. Contrary winds for three weeks together prevented his receiving any news of the rebellion which was begun in his native dominions. He landed therefore at Milford Haven without suspicion, attended by a body of twenty thousand men; but immediately found himself opposed by a power which he could by no means resist. His army gradually deserted him, till at last he was obliged to acquaint the duke, that he would submit to whatever terms he pleased to prescribe. The duke did not think proper to enter into any treaty with the king; but carried him to London, where he was confined close prisoner in the Tower, formally deposed by parliament, or rather by the Duke of Lancaster, and at last put to death. The manner of his death is variously related. According to some, eight or nine ruffians were
sent

sent to the castle of Pomfret, whither the unhappy prince had been removed, in order to dispatch him. They rushed unexpectedly into his apartment; but Richard, knowing their design, resolved to sell his life as dear as possible. He wrested a pole-ax from one of the murderers, with which he killed four of them; but was at length overpowered and killed. Others relate that he was starved in prison; and that, after he was denied all nourishment, he prolonged his life fourteen days, by feeding on the flocks of his bed. He died in the year 1399, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and twenty-third of his reign.---It was during the reign of Richard II. that Wickliff, the noted reformer, published his doctrines in England.

After sentence of deposition had been pronounced on Richard by both houses of parliament, the throne being then vacant, the Duke of Lancaster stepped forth; and having crossed himself on the forehead and on the breast, and called on the name of Christ, gave in his claim to the throne in the following words, which we shall give in the original language: "In the name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I Henry of Lancaster, challenge this rewme of Ynglonde, and the croun, with all the membres and the appurtenances; als I that am decendit by right line of the blode, coming fro the gude King Henry therde, and throge that right that God of his grace hath sent me, with help of kyn, and of my frendes to recover it; the which rewme was in poynt to be ondone by defaut of governance, and ondoying of the gude laws."

The right which the duke here claimed by descent from Henry III. proceeded on a false story that Edmond earl of Lancaster, son of Henry III. was really the elder brother of Edward I. but that, by reason of some deformity in his person, he had been postponed in the succession, and Edward the younger brother imposed on the nation in his stead. The present Duke of Lancaster inherited from Edmund, by his mother,
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the right which he now pretended to the crown; though the falsehood of the story was so generally known, that he thought proper to mention it only in general terms. ---No opposition, however, was made to the validity of this title in parliament, he was therefore crowned under the title of Henry IV. in the year 1399; and thus commenced the differences between the houses of York and Lancaster, which were not terminated but by many bloody and ruinous wars.

The reign of Henry IV. was little else than a continued series of insurrections. In the very first parliament he called, no fewer than forty challenges were given and accepted by different barons; and, though Henry had ability and address enough to hinder these duels from being fought, it was not in his power to prevent continual insurrections and combinations against himself. The most formidable one was conducted by the Earl of Northumberland, and commenced A. D. 1402. The occasion of it was, that Henry denied the earl liberty to ransom some Scotch prisoners which had been taken in a skirmish with that nation. The king was desirous of detaining them in order to increase his demands upon Scotland in making peace; but, as the ransom of prisoners was in that age looked upon as a right belonging to those who had taken them, the earl thought himself grievously injured. The injury appeared still the greater, because Northumberland considered the king as indebted to him both for his life and crown. He resolved therefore to dethrone Henry; and to raise to the throne young Mortimer, who was the true heir to the crown, as being the son of Roger Mortimer earl of March, whom Richard II. had declared his successor. For this purpose he entered into an alliance with the Scots and Welsh, who were to make an irruption into England at the same time that he himself was to raise what force he could in order to join them. But, when all things were prepared for this insurrection, the earl found himself un-
able

able to lead on the troops, by a sudden fit of illness with which he was seized at Berwick. On this, young Percy (surnamed *Hotspur*) took the command; and marched towards Shrewsbury, in order to join the Welsh. But the king had happily a small army with which he intended to have acted against the Scots; and, knowing the importance of celerity in civil wars, instantly hurried down, that he might give battle to the rebels. He approached Shrewsbury before a junction with the Welsh could be effected; and the impatience of Percy urged him to an engagement, which at that time he ought to have declined. The evening before the battle, he sent a manifesto to Henry; in which he renounced his allegiance, set the king at defiance, and enumerated all the grievances of which he imagined the nation might justly complain. He reproached him (and very justly) with his perjury; for Henry, on his first landing in England, had sworn upon the gospels, before the Earl of Northumberland, that he had no other intention but to recover possession of the duchy of Lancaster, and that he would ever remain a faithful subject to King Richard. He aggravated his guilt, in first dethroning and then murdering that prince; and in usurping on the title of the house of Mortimer; to whom, both by lineal succession and by declarations of parliament, the throne, then vacant by Richard's death, did by right belong. Several other heavy charges were brought against him; which, at that time, could be productive of no other effect than to irritate the king and his adherents to the utmost.

The armies on each side were in number about twelve thousand; so that they were not unmanageable by their commanders; and, as both leaders were men of known bravery, an obstinate engagement was expected. The battle was fought on the twentieth of July 1403; and we can scarce find in those ages any other in which the shock was so terrible and constant. At last, Percy being killed by an unknown hand, the victory was decided

cided in favour of the royalists. There are said to have fallen on that day near two thousand three hundred gentlemen, and six thousand private men, of whom near two thirds were of Percy's army.

The Earl of Northumberland having recovered from his sickness, and levied an army, was on his march to join his son; but being opposed by the Earl of Westmoreland, and hearing of the defeat at Shrewsbury, he dismissed his forces, and came with a small retinue to the king at York. He pretended that his sole intention was to mediate between the contending parties; and the king thought proper to accept of his apology, and grant him a pardon for his offence. The other rebels were treated with equal lenity; and none of them, except the Earl of Worcester and Sir Richard Vernon, who were regarded as the chief authors of the insurrection, perished by the hands of the executioner. This lenity, however, was not sufficient to keep the kingdom quiet; one insurrection followed another almost during the whole of this reign; but either through Henry's vigilance, or the bad management of the conspirators, they never could unite their forces in such a manner as was necessary for bringing their projects to maturity.

This reign is remarkable for the first capital punishment inflicted on a clergyman of high rank. The Archbishop of York having been concerned in an insurrection against the king, and happening to be taken prisoner, was beheaded without either indictment, trial, or defence; nor was any disturbance occasioned by this summary execution. But the most remarkable transaction of this reign was the introduction of that absurd and cruel practice of burning people on account of their religion. Henry, while a subject, was thought to have been very favourable to the doctrines of Wickliffe; but when he came to the throne, finding his possession of it very insecure, he thought superstition a necessary implement of his authority, and therefore

determined by all means to pay court to the clergy. There were hitherto no penal laws against heresy; not indeed through the toleration of the court of Rome, but through the ignorance of the people, who could not perceive the absurdities of the established religion. But, when the learning and genius of Wickliffe had once broken the fetters of prejudice, the ecclesiastics called aloud for the punishment of his disciples; and Henry, who was very little scrupulous in his conduct, resolved to gratify them. He engaged parliament to pass a law for this purpose: it was enacted, that when any heretic, who relapsed, or refused to abjure his opinions, was delivered over to the secular arm by the bishop or his commissaries, he should be committed to the flames before the whole people. This weapon did not remain long unemployed in the hands of the clergy. William Sautré, rector of St. Osithe's in London, had been condemned by the convocation of Canterbury; his sentence was ratified by the house of peers; the king issued his writ for the execution; and the unhappy man was burnt alive in the year 1401. The doctrines of Wickliffe, however, seem to have already gained ground very considerably in England. In 1405, the commons, who had been required to grant supplies, proposed in plain terms to the king to seize all the temporalities of the church, and employ them as a perpetual fund to serve the exigencies of the state. They insisted that the clergy possessed a third of the lands of the kingdom; that they contributed nothing to the public burdens; and that their exorbitant riches tended only to disqualify them for performing their ministerial functions with proper zeal and attention. When this address was presented, the Archbishop of Canterbury, who then attended the king, objected that the clergy, though they went not in person to the wars, sent their vassals and tenants in all cases of necessity; while, at the same time, they themselves who staid at home were employed night and day in offering up their prayers for the hap-





J. Chapman Sculp.

HENRY V.

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pineness and prosperity of the state. The speaker answered with a smile, that he thought the prayers of the church but a very slender supply. The archbishop, however, prevailed in the dispute; the king discouraged the application of the commons; and the lords rejected the bill which the lower house had framed for despoiling the church of her revenues. The commons were not discouraged by this repulse. In 1410, they returned to the charge with more zeal than before. They made a calculation of all the ecclesiastical revenues, which, by their account, amounted to four hundred and eighty-five thousand marks a-year, and included eighteen thousand four hundred ploughs of land. They proposed to divide this property among fifteen new earls, one thousand five hundred knights, six thousand esquires, and one hundred hospitals; besides twenty thousand pounds a-year, which the king might keep for his own use: and they insisted that the clerical functions would be better performed than at present, by fifteen thousand parish-priests, at the rate of seven marks a-piece of yearly stipend. This application was accompanied with an address for mitigating the statutes enacted against the Wickliffites or Lollards, so that the king knew very well from what source it came. He gave the commons, however, a severe reply; and, further to satisfy the church that he was in earnest, ordered a Lollard to be burnt before the dissolution of parliament.

In the mean time the Prince of Wales, whose martial talents and character had at first occasioned unreasonable jealousies in the mind of his father, had been excluded from all share of public business. The active spirit of Henry being thus restrained from martial exercise, broke out into every kind of extravagance and dissipation. It is even recorded, that, when heated with liquor, he scrupled not to accompany his riotous associates in attacking the passengers on the streets and highways, and robbing them of their goods and money;

and, one of his companions being arraigned for felony, he resolved to be present at the trial, and, while sentence was passing, in a great passion he struck the judge on the face, who immediately ordered him to be arrested, and committed to the King's Bench. The prince, hereupon relenting, suffered himself to be led quietly to prison.

King Henry died March 20, 1413, in the forty-sixth year of his age, and fourteenth of his reign. His actions had very little worthy or eminent in them; one thing, at least, has fixed an indelible stain on his memory, viz. his being the first burner of heretics. There was in his reign, a dreadful plague in London, which swept away above thirty thousand persons. Henry had by Mary de Bohun, his first wife, daughter of Humphrey, earl of Hereford, four sons, viz. Henry, who succeeded him; Thomas, duke of Clarence; John, duke of Bedford; and Humphrey, duke of Gloucester: and two daughters; Blanche, married to the elector Palatine; and Philippa, to the King of Denmark. Henry IV. was of the middle stature, well proportioned, and perfect in all the exercises of arms and chivalry; his countenance was severe rather than serene; and his disposition sour, fullen, and reserved; he possessed a great share of courage, fortitude, and penetration; was naturally imperious, though he bridled his temper with caution; superstitious, though without the least tincture of virtue and true religion; and meanly parsimonious, though justly censured for want of œconomy, and ill-judged profusion. He was tame from caution, humble from fear, cruel from policy, and rapacious from indigence. He rose to the throne by perfidy and treason; established his authority in the blood of his subjects; and died a penitent for his sins, because he could no longer enjoy the fruits of his transgressions. During this reign, William of Wickham, bishop of Winchester, Sir Robert Knolles, and Richard Whittington, mayor of London, distinguished themselves

selves for their works of charity and public foundation. Geoffrey Chaucer and John Gower rendered themselves famous for their poetry, and are looked upon as the first reformers of the English language.

Henry V. surnamed Henry of Monmouth, ascended the throne upon the death of his father, Henry IV. and was proclaimed March 20, 1413, and crowned April 9 following; after which, the first thing he did was to send for his old companions, whom he exhorted in a very pathetic manner to forsake their evil courses; he acquainted them with his own intended reformation, and begged them to imitate his example; but strictly prohibited them, till they had given proofs of their sincerity in this particular, to appear any more in his presence: after which he dismissed them with liberal presents. His father's wise ministers, who had checked his riots, found that they had, unknown to themselves, been paying the highest court to their sovereign; and were received with all the marks of favour and confidence. The chief justice, who had formerly imprisoned the prince for the above excesses, and therefore trembled to approach the royal presence, met with praises instead of reproaches for his past conduct, and was exhorted to persevere in the same rigorous and impartial execution of the laws. The king was not only anxious to repair his own misconduct, but also to make amends for those iniquities into which policy or necessity of affairs had betrayed his father. He expressed the deepest sorrow for the fate of the unhappy King Richard, and even performed his funeral obsequies with pomp and solemnity, and heaped favours upon all those who had shewn themselves attached to him. He took into favour the young Earl of March, though his competitor for the throne; and gained so far on his gentle and unambitious nature, that he remained ever after sincerely attached to him. The family of Percy was restored to its fortune and honours; and the king seemed desirous to bury all distinctions in oblivion.

oblivion. Men of merit were preferred, whatever party they had been of: all men were unanimous in their attachment to Henry; and the defects of his title were forgot amidst the personal regard which was universally paid him.

The first act of this reign was, an attempt to extirpate the religious tenets which had been broached by Wickliffe in the reign of Richard II. and were now propagated by his adherents, to the great discomfiture of the whole body of the clergy, which loudly exclaimed against innovations that struck at the very foundation of their establishment. The king, led away by the insinuations of the Archbishop of Canterbury, delivered up these reformers to the fury of their adversaries, who persecuted them with every species of cruelty which blind zeal and worldly interest could suggest. Although the complexion of the times was fierce and cruel, yet the people, in general, felt a natural abhorrence at making conscientious Christians spectacles of public infamy, and exposing them to cruel deaths by the hands of the executioner. As the king abetted these violent measures of the clergy, a considerable part of the popular odium lay on him. To divert the attention of the nation therefore from the measures pursued, it is generally believed, that the same prelate inspired the king with the design of subduing France: such was this man's insatiable thirst for blood!

The troubles in which France was at that time involved, held out a very flattering lure to an ambitious prince. Charles VI. the French king, was subject to paroxysms of madness, which totally unfitted him for the task of government. Those seasons, in which he was a prey to his disorder, his vassals and courtiers availed themselves of, to advance and strengthen themselves; their consequence, therefore, increased in proportion to the imbecility of the king. The kingdom was divided into two factions: at the head of the one was the Duke of Burgundy; at the other the Duke of Orleans,

Orleans. Each of these, as they chanced to prevail, branded their captives with the name of traitors ; and the bodies of those accused, and the accusers, were at once suspended on gibbets, in different parts of the kingdom.

Henry V. seized this opportunity to revive the dormant claims on the crown of France, which his illustrious ancestor Edward III. had so gloriously but destructively contended for. However, the king concealed his intentions for some time, and even treated of a marriage with the Princess Catharine, daughter to the French king. It is a commonly-received opinion, that the Dauphin of France roused the resentment of King Henry, by sending him a present of tennis-balls ; but Mr. Campbell very sensibly rejects it as improbable, both on account of the youth of that prince, and the apprehension all France entertained of the English power. The French writers seem to give a better account of this matter : they tell us, that the first flash of lightning preceding this dreadful storm, was an angry letter written to the French king, with this address : “ To the most serene Prince Charles, our cousin and adversary of France, Henry by the grace of God, King of England and of France, &c.” This letter was dated the twenty-eighth of July, 1415, from Southampton ; and the French king returned an answer in the same angry style, dated the twenty-third of the next month : so that, from that time, the war was looked upon as declared on both sides.

Henry now sent ambassadors to demand Normandy, with whatever had been yielded to Edward III. by the treaty of Bretagne. The negociations went on without any hopes of an accommodation ; and, when Henry was just going to embark, a plot was discovered against his person, for which the Earl of Cambridge, the Lord Treasurer Scroop, and Thomas Grey, a privy counsellor, were executed. It is thought they were bribed by French gold to carry on this conspiracy.

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This affair being over, Henry seriously prepared for his invasion of France. He hired ships in Holland and Zealand, and built others at Southampton, to rendezvous at London, Sandwich, and Winchelsea. He also issued an ordinance, directing all English ships of twenty tons burden, and upwards, to assemble at these three ports, and at Southampton, which united fleet is said to have consisted of sixteen hundred sail of ships, hulks, &c. with which naval force he landed at Havre-de-Grace, in Normandy. He was attended in this expedition by his two brothers the Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, his uncle the Duke of York, and most of the nobility of England; and his army consisted of fifty thousand men. On his landing Henry laid siege to Harfleur, a sea-port town in the neighbourhood of Havre, then of great consequence. The town was strong, and defended by a good garrison; yet held out but three weeks, when it surrendered to Henry. The garrison was permitted to march out, but without their arms; as to the inhabitants, the king sent them away, and placed the English people in their room.

The constable of France, although at the head of a numerous army, was directed not to hazard a battle with the English. Indeed, the intense heat of the season, and a scanty supply of provisions, served as effectually to reduce the numbers of the invaders, as the swords of their enemies; a contagious dysentery carrying off the soldiers by thousands. Henry began to repent of his inroad into a country where disease, and a powerful army, every moment threatened him with destruction: in this exigence he assembled a council of war, in which it was determined to leave a garrison in Harfleur, and proceed with the army through Picardy to Calais.

The army of Henry was now by various accidents reduced to ten thousand men, of whom not a few were sick, or slowly recovering from sickness;---they had
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to traverse a long tract of country, inhabited by exasperated enemies, from whom they were to procure provisions, lodgings, guides, intelligence, and every thing they wanted;---that country was defended by many strong towns, intersected by deep rivers, and guarded by an army of an hundred thousand, or (according to some cotemporary writers) one hundred and forty thousand men.

Henry, undaunted by all these dangers and difficulties, departed from Harfleur, marching his army in three lines, with bodies of cavalry on the wings. He proceeded by very easy journeys, that he might not fatigue his troops, or discourage them by the appearance of a flight; observing the strictest discipline, and paying generously for every thing he received; which induced the country people to bring provisions to his camp, in spite of all the commands they had received to the contrary. To keep his men in spirits, and from repining, the king fared as ill as the meanest soldier, always appearing with a cheerful countenance, and addressing them in the most friendly and encouraging language. They arrived at the village of Agincourt, in the country of St. Pol, in the evening of October 24th; and there beheld the whole French army, at a small distance, directly in their route. The king took an attentive view of it from an eminence; and being fully convinced that it was impossible to proceed any further on his way to Calais without a battle, and equally impossible to return to Harfleur with so great an army in his rear, he resolved to hazard an action next morning, as the only means of preserving himself and his little army from destruction.

The English army lodged that night in the villages of Agincourt, Maisongelle, and some others; where they met with better accommodation than they had been accustomed to for some time past, and spent part of their time in mutual exhortations to fight bravely in the approaching battle. The king, overhearing some

of his nobles expressing a wish that the many brave men who were idle in England were present to assist them, is said to have cried out---“No! I would not have one man more:---if we are defeated, we are too many---if it shall please God to give us the victory, as I trust he will, the smaller our number the greater our glory.” The moon happening to shine very bright, Henry, with some of his best officers, carefully examined the ground, and pitched upon a field of battle, admirably calculated to preserve a small army from being surrounded by a great one. It was a gentle declivity from the village of Agincourt, of sufficient extent for his small army, defended on each side by hedges, trees, and brush-wood. Having placed guards and kindled fires on all sides, the king and his army betook themselves to rest; except such as were of a more serious turn of mind, and, considering that as the last night of their lives, spent it in devotion. The French, exulting in their numbers, confident of victory, and abounding in provisions, spent the night in noisy festivity, and in forming fanciful schemes about the disposal of their prisoners and their booty. It was in general resolved to put all the English to the sword, except the king and the chief nobility, who were to be taken prisoners for the sake of their ransoms. On the morning of Friday, the memorable twenty-fifth of October, A. D. 1415, the day of Crispin and Crispianus, the English and French armies were ranged in order of battle each in three lines, with bodies of cavalry on each wing. The constable d’Albert, who commanded the French army, fell into the snare that was laid for him, by drawing up his army in the narrow plain between the two woods. This deprived him, in a great measure, of the advantage he should have derived from the prodigious superiority of his numbers; obliged him to make his lines unnecessarily deep, about thirty men in file; to crowd his troops, particularly his cavalry, so close together, that they
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could hardly move or use their arms; and, in a word, was the chief cause of all the disasters that followed. The French, it is said, had a considerable number of cannon of different sizes in the field; but we do not hear that they did any execution, probably for want of room. The first line of the French army, which consisted of eight thousand men-at-arms on foot, mixed with four hundred archers, with five hundred men-at-arms mounted on each wing, was commanded by the Constable d'Albert, the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, and many other nobles; the dukes of Alençon, Brabant, and Bar, &c. conducted the second line; and the earls of Marle, Damartine, Fauconberg, &c. were at the head of the third line. The King of England employed various arts to supply his defect of numbers. He placed two hundred of his best archers in ambush, in a low meadow, on the flank of the first line of the French. His own first line consisted wholly of archers, four in file; each of whom, besides his bow and arrows, had a battle-axe, a sword, and a stake pointed with iron at both ends, which he fixed before him in the ground, the point inclining outwards, to protect him from cavalry; which was a new invention, and had a happy effect. That he might not be incumbered, he dismissed all his prisoners, on their word of honour to surrender themselves at Calais, if he obtained the victory; and lodged all his baggage, in the village of Agincourt, in his rear, under a slender guard. The command of the first line was, at his earnest request, committed to Edward duke of York, assisted by the lords Beaumont, Willoughby, and Fanhope; the second was conducted by the king, with his youngest brother Humphry duke of Gloucester, the earls of Oxford, Marshal, and Suffolk; and the third was led by the Duke of Exeter, the king's uncle. The lines being formed, the king, in shining armour, with a crown of gold adorned with precious stones on his helmet, mounted on a fine white horse, rode along

them, and addressed each corps with a cheerful countenance and animating speeches. To inflame their resentment against their enemies, he told them, that the French had determined to cut off three fingers of the right hand of every prisoner ; and, to rouse their love of honour, he declared, that every soldier in that army who behaved well, should from henceforth be deemed a gentleman, and be intitled to bear coat-armour.

When the two armies were drawn up in this manner, they stood a considerable time gazing at one another in solemn silence. But the king, dreading that the French would discover the danger of their situation and decline a battle, commanded the charge to be sounded, about ten o'clock in the forenoon. At that instant, the first line of the English kneeled down, and kissed the ground ; and then starting up, discharged a flight of arrows, which did great execution among the crowded ranks of the French. Immediately after, upon a signal being given, the archers in ambush arose, and discharged their arrows on the flank of the French line, and threw it into some disorder. The battle now became general, and raged with uncommon fury. The English archers, having expended all their arrows, threw away their bows, and, rushing forward, made dreadful havoc with their swords and battle-axes. The first line of the enemy was, by these means, defeated ; its leaders being either killed or taken prisoners. The second line, commanded by the Duke d'Alençon, (who had made a vow either to kill or take the King of England, or to perish in the attempt,) now advanced to the charge, and was encountered by the second line of the English, conducted by the king. This conflict was more close and furious than the former. The Duke of Gloucester, wounded and unhorsed, was protected by his royal brother till he was carried off the field. The Duke d'Alençon forced his way to the king, who was mounted on a white horse, and assaulted him with great fury ; but that prince brought him to
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the ground, and dispatched him with his own hand. Discouraged by this disaster, the second line made no more resistance; and the third fled without striking a blow; yielding a complete and glorious victory to the English, after a violent struggle of three hours duration.

The king did not permit his men to pursue the fugitives to a great distance, but encouraged them to take as many prisoners as they could on or near the field; in which they were so successful, that, in a little time, his captives were more numerous than his soldiers. A great proportion of these prisoners were men of rank and fortune, for many of the French noblesse being on foot, and loaded with their heavy armour, could not make their escape. Among these were the Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the Marshal Boucicaut, the Counts d'Eu, Vendome, Richemont, and Harcourt, and seven thousand barons, knights, and gentlemen. The French left dead on the field of battle, the Constable d'Albert, the three Dukes of Alençon, Brabant, and Bar, the Archbishop of Sens, one marshal, thirteen earls, ninety-two barons, one thousand five hundred knights, and a far greater number of gentlemen, besides several thousands of common soldiers. Even the French historians acknowledge, that the loss of the English was inconsiderable: those of our own cotemporary writers who make it the greatest, affirm, that it did not exceed one hundred, and that the Duke of York and the Earl of Suffolk were the only great men who fell on that side in this memorable action. This victory was gained in November 1415.

The king the next day continued his march to Calais, from whence he embarked, in the middle of November for England, and landed at Dover.

About the beginning of June, in the next year, the Earl of Armagnac, now constable of France, besieged Harfleur. A great fleet of French, Spaniards, Genoese, and of several other nations blocked up the harbour, so that no supplies or reinforcements could get into the town

town by sea; notwithstanding which the Earl of Dorset, who was governor there, bravely defended the place. King Henry intended to have went himself with his fleet to the relief of Harfleur, but being persuaded otherwise by Sigismund the emperor, then in England, he gave the command of the fleet to his brother, the Duke of Bedford, who, arriving before the harbour the latter end of July, bravely attacked the French and their confederates, when a sharp engagement ensued, but happily ending in favour of the English who sunk and destroyed five hundred sail of the enemy's ships, and afterwards threw relief into the town. The constable therefore seeing there was no likelihood of taking the place, raised the siege, and marched to Paris.

In the year 1417, the Earl of Huntingdon being sent to sea with a strong squadron, fell in with the united fleets of France and Genoa, which he fought and defeated, though they were much superior to him, not only in number, but in strength and size of their ships. Among the prisoners of rank was the Admiral of Bourbon.

Henry, being resolved vigorously to push his conquest in France, the same year, 1417, set out from England with fifteen hundred sail of ships, having on-board twenty-five thousand men, and got safe to Harfleur the first of August. The king soon after laid siege to the castle of Tonque, and took it on the ninth instant; he also took several other places, and the rich and populous city of Caen, by storm. This campaign continued all the winter with great success; the town of Falaise was taken in December, and the castle surrendered in the February following, and Evreux in May; Cherbourg was also taken after a siege of three months. Henry soon after invested Rouen, the capital of the province, a place strongly fortified, and defended by a numerous garrison; with this additional circumstance in its favour, that the inhabitants were sufficiently numerous to form a considerable army of themselves.

selves. Henry, considering these circumstances, thought it most advisable to turn the siege into a blockade, and so reduce the place by famine. He accordingly blocked up the mouth of the Seine with his fleet, and threw up lines of circumvallation and contravallation; and so fortified them with redoubts, that no provisions could possibly be thrown into the town. In consequence of these measures, provisions soon became so scarce in the town, that twenty thousand useless mouths, mostly old men, women, and children, were expelled the place. The English forced them back again to the walls, where many of them perished. In the mean time, the famine in the town became so great, that fifty thousand were starved to death. The Duke of Burgundy being apprised of the miserable condition of the town, advanced towards it with a considerable force, and several times seemed, by his motions, as if he intended to fall upon the besiegers and relieve the city, but at last retreated without molesting them. When the king had lain so long before the town, that the besieged had consumed all the dogs and horses, and the very vermin, the inhabitants offered to capitulate on the thirteenth of January, but were told that the terms they proposed were too advantageous to be granted, and that no other would be allowed, considering the obstinacy with which they had held out, than surrendering to the king's mercy. This positive answer threw the inhabitants into despair; however they obtained a second conference, when the king agreed that if they could raise three hundred thousand gold crowns they should be allowed to keep their estates and effects, and be indulged in the privileges their ancestors ever enjoyed, either under the kings of England, or the dukes of Normandy, before the reign of Philip de Valois. Accordingly the town, which had been possessed by the French two hundred and fifteen years, surrendered, January the nineteenth, 1419; and King Henry the next day entered the city in triumph, and,

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though several of the garrison was left to his mercy, only one person was executed, Alain Blanchart, a notorious incendiary. Picardy, in consequence of the reduction of this place, now lying open to the incursions of the English, the king sent the Duke of Exeter thither, who took Montreuil and several other towns in that province. And now, all Normandy, except a few castles, was again fallen under the dominion of the English, two hundred and fifteen years after it had been taken from them in the reign of King John.

In the mean time, the Duke of Burgundy had found means to rescue Queen Isabella from her confinement at Tours, and conducted her to Troye in Champagne, where she presently assumed the title of regent, and joined with the Duke of Burgundy, whose enemy she had formerly been, against the dauphin and constable. The Burgundians prevailed in Paris, and made a cruel slaughter of the Armagnac, or Orlean, faction, threw the Earl of Armagnac, the constable, into prison, and soon after hauled him out and murdered him, and ignominiously dragged him along the streets. After which, the queen and Duke of Burgundy entered Paris in triumph, and assumed the whole administration of the government in the name of the king. The dauphin escaped, and took upon himself the title of regent, to create new troubles. And now in all likelihood the Duke of Burgundy would soon have broke with Henry, had he not been afraid, lest the dauphin, who had a strong party in France, might at length dispossess him of his authority. To keep up his jealousy, Henry very politicly affected to listen to some proposals of the dauphin, and carried on a negotiation with him, though he knew, that only the Duke of Burgundy, who was master of the king, could make an authentic peace. The duke also treated with Henry with a view to frighten the dauphin; with whom, at the same time, he made several attempts for a reconciliation, without success; but at last it was brought
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about, and there was danger of their uniting against Henry; who, seeing how matters stood, on a sudden surprised and took Pontoise, which opened him a way to the very gates of Paris. Nevertheless his affairs had been in a bad situation, by having all France united against him, if the dauphin, bearing still an inveterate hatred in his heart, had not caused the Duke of Burgundy to be assassinated at the conference that was held between them.

This circumstance gave a sudden turn to the affairs of France, and brought them to such a crisis as Henry desired. For now the young Duke of Burgundy, who had the king in his hands, joined with the queen in making up matters with Henry, upon his own terms, in order to be revenged on the dauphin. And so, after some time spent in negotiation, a treaty was concluded at Troye, on the twenty-first of May 1420, whereby it was agreed, that Henry should marry the Princess Catherine, that he should be sole regent of the kingdom during King Charles's life, and that after his death the crown of France should descend to the King of England and his heirs for ever. This treaty was sworn to by the Queen and Duke of Burgundy in the name of King Charles, and confirmed by the states of France. Henry hereupon espoused the Princess Catherine, and the marriage was solemnized on the thirtieth of May. And now the English and the Burgundians, joining their forces against the dauphin, took Sens, in June; Montereau soon after; and Melun, in November, which held out a long and obstinate siege; after which the two kings made their entry together into Paris, and the two queens followed the next day.

In February 1421, Henry arrived in England with his queen, who was crowned a few days after. The intention of the king's return to England was to raise new subsidies, and new troops, to secure his acquisitions. The presence of a monarch, endeared to them

by his successful valour, was highly captivating to a people fond of martial glory; but this glare of success could not prevent their seeing very destructive consequences springing out of these conquests; among which the transferring the seat of empire to the continent was not the least considerable. These political reasons rendered the parliament backward in granting supplies equal to the king's requisitions. Among other shifts to which the king was reduced, in order to raise money, he pawned his imperial crown of gold to the Bishop of Winchester. He had left the Duke of Clarence, his brother, to command his army in France, who was slain by a body of Scots in the dauphin's service, in the battle of Baugé. In June, the king returned to France, and, drawing his forces together, marched to the relief of Chartres, and forced the dauphin to raise the siege. Then he took Dreux, and laid siege to Meaux on the sixth of October; but, as the place was strong and defended by a brave garrison, and the season of the year unfavourable to the English, the town held out all winter. During the siege, the garrison not only used very reproachful language to the English, but also treated the king's friends with the utmost barbarity, and hanged up all those of the Burgundian party, whenever they took any of them. When therefore they were obliged to capitulate, in the beginning of May, they could only obtain very hard terms, among which were these, that neither the English, Scots, or Irish, should have mercy shewn them, or any who were concerned in the death of the Duke of Burgundy, and that three of the principal officers and governors should suffer death. The latter was accordingly hanged near the town, upon the same tree upon which he used to hang the Burgundians. Soon after the taking of this place, Queen Catherine and the Duke of Bedford came over to France, having left the Duke of Gloucester guardian of England, and arriving at Vincennes, where the King and Queen of
France

France kept their court, the King of England met them, and both courts removed to Paris, and kept the Whitsun-holidays there. In the mean time the dauphin had taken the field again, made himself master of La Charité on the Loire, and laid siege to Cosne, which had agreed to surrender if not relieved by the eighteenth of August. Henry and the Duke of Burgundy, having received intelligence of this, assembled their respective forces, and marched towards the dauphin; but on the way Henry was seized with the flux, upon which he gave the command of his army to the Duke of Bedford, and ordered him to join the Duke of Burgundy; but the dauphin, fearful of coming to an engagement, raised the siege of Cosne on their approach. In this expedition the king was seized with a fistula, a malady, to the cure of which the surgeons of that æra were unequal: this, and the violent fever which attended it, proved quickly fatal. He died at the castle of Vincennes, in 1422, with the same intrepidity with which he had lived, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. He deserves to be celebrated as one of the greatest as well as bravest princes that ever sat on the English throne, although only thirty-four years of age when he died. He reigned nine years and a half. His competitor, the unhappy Charles, survived him only two months.

Henry the Fifth was tall and slender, with a long neck, an engaging aspect, and limbs of the most elegant turn. He excelled all the youth of that age in agility, and the exercise of arms; was hardy, patient, laborious, and more capable of enduring cold, hunger, and fatigue, than any individual in his army. His valour was such as no danger could startle, and no difficulty oppose; nor was his policy inferior to his courage. He managed the dissensions among his enemies with such address as spoke him consummate in the arts of the cabinet. He fomented their jealousies, and converted their mutual resentment to his own ad-

vantage. Henry possessed a self-taught genius, that blazed out at once without the aid of instruction or experience; and a fund of natural sagacity, that made ample amends for these defects. He was chaste, temperate, modest, and devout; scrupulously just in his administration, and severely exact in the discipline of his army, upon which he knew his glory and success in a great measure depended. In a word, it must be owned, he was without an equal in the art of war, policy, and government.

The thrones of England and of France were now filled by an infant in his cradle. Henry the Sixth, of Windsor, was proclaimed first at London, and the next year at Paris, on the demise of Charles the Sixth, notwithstanding a strong party acknowledged the dauphin for their sovereign, by the style of Charles the Seventh. During the minority of Henry, the administration of affairs devolved on his uncles, whose great abilities procured them the confidence of the people. Of these John duke of Bedford (who was regent of France) was appointed protector, or guardian of England; and Humphry duke of Gloucester was invested with the same dignity, during the absence of the former. Properly to curb the authority of these princes, the parliament established a council, and enacted, that no measure of importance should be carried into execution without their advice and approbation. Dissentions soon after breaking out among those to whom the administration of affairs was entrusted, the interests of the nation became sacrificed to the cabals of statesmen. The minority of Henry gave both duration and growing strength to these dissentions, and brought England to much the same condition as France was thrown into, when Henry, the father of the present prince, laid claim to that crown.

The dauphin, as soon as he heard of his father's death, caused himself to be proclaimed king of France, and was crowned in November at Poitiers. The parliament

ment appointed John duke of Bedford, as being the elder of the late king's brothers, protector of the kingdom; but, as he was regent of France, the Duke of Gloucester was empowered to act as protector in his absence.

The regent Duke of Bedford, pursuing the scheme of the late king his brother, intended first to reduce all the places Charles still held in the Isle of France, and the neighbouring provinces; and then to attack him beyond the Loire. One of King Charles's generals having taken Meulan by storm in January, the regent laid siege to it in February, and retook it.

Not long after, the English under the Earl of Salisbury, and the Burgundians, boldly attacked and defeated Charles's army, consisting of French and Scots, in the battle of Crevant. A great many were killed on the spot and taken prisoners, and among them several officers of distinction; but authors differ as to the numbers. After this, the Earl of Salisbury, having finished the reduction of Champagne, entered the Isle of France, and made himself master of Courcy with some other castles. And the regent in the mean time took Crotoy in Picardy.

On the other hand, some of King Charles's generals took Ham, Guise, and Compeigne, by surprise: but they were all three soon retaken by the English. About the same time, a body of English troops, under John de la Pole, brother of the Earl of Suffolk, was defeated at Gravelle in Maine, with the loss of one thousand four hundred men (according to some but three hundred), and Pole himself was taken prisoner.

The regent being informed that some of Charles's party had taken Ivry on the frontiers of Normandy, by surprise, he marched with the utmost expedition into those parts, and laid siege to it about the beginning of July. It soon capitulated to surrender on the fifteenth of August, if not relieved by that day. King Charles, receiving news of this, determined to relieve the place

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at all adventures, and to make use of the troops which the Duke of Milan had sent him, and the Scotch troops lately arrived, for that purpose. To these joining some of his own, he made up an army of twenty thousand men, the strongest he had ever had. The Earl of Douglas commanded in chief, accompanied by all the nobility of Charles's party, in hopes of sharing in the glory of this expedition. When they came in view of the English army before Ivry, on the thirteenth of August, they found them so strongly intrenched, that, not thinking it proper to attack them, they turned about and laid siege to Verneuil, which soon surrendered. The regent's army, having been reinforced by the Earl of Salisbury, amounted to fifteen thousand. On the fifteenth Ivry surrendered according to the capitulation; and the next day the regent marched towards the French army, which was still at Verneuil. Having very advantageously posted himself, he waited for the French to attack him first; which they did, contrary to the opinion of the Earl of Douglas, and had soon cause to repent it; for by the valour and prudent conduct of the regent, they were totally routed and put to flight. Five thousand were slain according to some; others make them almost double the number; among whom were the Viscount of Narbonne, the Earl of Buchan, and many other noblemen and officers of distinction. This victory cost the English about two thousand of their bravest soldiers.

The next day, August the seventeenth, the regent invested Verneuil, which soon surrendered; and here, all the baggage of the French, Scotch, and Italian, generals, and the money for the payment of the army, fell into his hands. Soon after, the brave Earl of Salisbury besieged and took Mans, the capital of Maine, and before the end of the campaign finished the entire conquest of that province.

The Earl of Richmond, then constable of France, having levied a considerable army in Bretagne, entered
Normandy

Normandy and took Pontorson, but to his great mortification failed in his attempt upon St. James's de Beuvron. And a little after, the English under Richard de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, who commanded whilst the regent was in England, were defeated with great loss by the Bastard of Orleans, at the blockade of Montargis.

The English, however, were still much superior to King Charles, and there was a probability of their gaining a complete conquest, for which the regent was resolved to exert himself to the utmost. If he could drive Charles beyond the Loire, his business would soon be done. It was with this view, that the Earl of Salisbury, who had the command of the army given him, with Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, Talbot, Falstaff, and other experienced leaders, marched towards the Loire, and on October the twelfth laid siege to Orleans. The French, guessing at his design, had taken care to furnish Orleans with stores, and the bastard of Orleans, and several other brave officers, had thrown themselves into the city. When the Earl of Salisbury came before it, finding his army not numerous enough to invest it on all sides, he run up sixty forts about it, six whereof upon the chief avenues of the city were much stronger than the rest, in order to hinder the French from throwing in fresh succours; but these precautions did not hinder them entirely; for troops and convoys still got in, though not without fighting their way through. By this means the garrison became much more numerous than it was at first. But at the same time, the army of the besiegers was greatly augmented by the supplies continually sent by the regent.

During four months there was nothing but assaults, sallies, and skirmishes, both sides behaving with the utmost bravery and resolution, and no one could guess what the event would be, which was of the last importance both to the French and English. The latter
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indeed had made themselves masters of the bulwark of the Tournelles, and of the tower on the bridge; but this occasioned the loss of the brave Thomas Montacute earl of Salisbury. For, as he was taking a view of the city from a window of this tower, a cannon-ball, as it passed, took off his cheek, and struck out one of his eyes, so that he died in a few days. The Earl of Suffolk succeeded him in the command of the army, and carried on the siege with as much vigour as before. The regent, in the mean time, by sending recruits and provisions, did all in his power to support him. In Lent, he sent a convoy of salt-fish from Paris, under the conduct of Falstaff, with a guard of seventeen hundred men; who was attacked in the road by the Earl of Clermont, at the head of three thousand men, whom Charles had sent for that purpose. But Falstaff managed with such bravery and conduct, that he entirely defeated them, killed a great number, and carried off his convoy safe to the besiegers. This famous action went by the name of the battle of Herrings. King Charles was exceedingly troubled at this defeat, and began to think he should soon lose Orleans, which in all likelihood would quickly be followed by the entire loss of his kingdom; when a most singular accident gave a sudden turn to his affairs.

As the French writers relate the story, a country girl of twenty-one years of age, born in Lorraine, called Joan of Arc, and commonly known by the name of the Maid of Orleans, came to King Charles's court at Chinon, just as he was thinking of retiring into Dauphiné, and told him that she had a call from God to go and raise the siege of Orleans, and cause him to be crowned at Rheims. She was, after some examination, entertained as one who had a divine commission to bring about these great events. Accordingly, when King Charles was going to send a convoy to Orleans, Joan, who was commonly called Pucelle, or the Maid, desired to accompany it. She accordingly did; and, when
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the convoy appeared before the city, on the twenty-ninth of April, the Bastard of Orleans sallied out to secure their passage. A bloody battle ensued, till the English being worsted were forced to let the convoy go in; and Joan entered Orleans in triumph, to whom was ascribed the success of the day. After this, putting herself at the head of a detachment of the garrison, she attacked sword in hand four of the chief forts that the English had raised, and took them one after another with the slaughter of a thousand, the French say eight thousand, of the English, who were forced to raise the siege on the twelfth of May, seven months after they had sat down before the place. It is impossible to express the consternation the English were in on this occasion. They retreated in the utmost disorder, and fled every where before the French, though still superior to them in number. The places they had taken near the Loire were soon retaken by the French; and at Gergeau the Earl of Suffolk was made prisoner. Baugenci held out the longest, but at last followed the fate of the rest. After this, they were defeated in the battle of Petay in Beauce; two thousand five hundred men were slain, and the valiant Talbot taken prisoner. Charles now resolved to go to Rheims, the Maid still accompanying him, and animating the French wherever she came. Troye and Chalons and the other places in their way surrendered, and the inhabitants of Rheims drove the English garrison out of the city; when Charles with the Maid entered it in triumph, and was soon after solemnly crowned. What raised the courage of the French, was the belief that this heroine was sent from God to deliver France; and the consternation and panic of the English was owing to the opinion they had, that she was a witch, and acted by the help of the devil.

But what is most extraordinary, is, that this contrivance should succeed according to their wish; the English, instead of being victorious were now every

where vanquished. Charles continued his conquests with great rapidity, and town after town submitted to him without striking a stroke: he made an attempt upon Paris, but here indeed he failed; the regent, who was marched to the relief of Normandy, against the constable Richemond, having managed matters so well there, that the Parisians continued firm to the English. However, Charles attacked the suburbs of St. Honorius, but was repulsed, and the Maid wounded.

Though after the raising the siege of Orleans, and the defeat at Petay, the affairs of the English visibly declined every where in France, yet they now and then gained some advantages, and retook several places; and they still might have recovered themselves, if the differences in England, and especially between the Duke of Gloucester and the Cardinal bishop of Winchester, and the nation's being exhausted by this long war, had not hindered them from having proper supplies from England; and the Duke of Burgundy, growing cold to the English, did not assist them so vigorously as he used to do, and only seemed to want a fit opportunity to leave them and join with Charles. However, the Duke of Bedford thinking it might be of service to have Henry crowned in France, the young king having been first crowned in England, on November 6, 1429, went over to Paris, and was crowned there at the end of the following year, and returned to England in January, being then ten years old. At the same time that the English were unable to bring any considerable army into the field, King Charles by his indolence, and the factions in his court, as well as from other causes, was not in a much better condition; so that pillaging and plundering, surprising and taking of places, and fighting now and then in small parties, was, in a manner, all that was done on both sides for some years.

But as the Duke of Burgundy had not yet openly deserted the English, he laid siege to Compeigne.

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Here Joan, making a sally on the twenty-fifth of May, 1430, was taken prisoner, by the Burgundians. The English were, beyond measure, elated at this event: the Duke of Bedford, their general, thought no method so effectual to restore the lost courage of his troops, as to cause this girl to be tried for witchcraft. Her judges found her guilty of sorcery, and sentenced her to be closely confined for life, and to be fed with no other provisions than bread and water. But, this punishment not according with her incensed enemies, soon afterwards she was condemned to be burnt as a witch; which was executed in the old market-place at Rouen on the 30th of May, 1431. But the death of this woman no ways changed the posture of affairs.

At last, a congress was held at Arras, when the French ambassadors made such proposals as they knew the English would not agree to: and, upon their refusal, the Duke of Burgundy concluded a separate peace with King Charles. After this unlucky incident, the affairs of the English went to ruin apace; and, to add to their misfortunes, the wise and valiant Duke of Bedford died about the same time, who was, in all respects, one of the most accomplished princes in Europe. He was succeeded in the regency of France by the Duke of York, but by the management of the Duke of Somerset, his rival, his patent being deferred for some time, the city of Paris fell into the hands of the French, on the thirteenth of April, 1436.

The same year, the Duke of Burgundy besieged Calais with a great army; but the Duke of Gloucester, at the desire of the council, went over to relieve it, and forced Burgundy to raise the siege: after which he pursued him into Flanders, and having ravaged the country, returned with a very large booty. Some time after, the Duke of Burgundy made another attempt upon Calais, but to as little purpose as the former.

The war was again carried on with a good deal of vigour on both sides. King Charles, roused by the Duke of Burgundy, began to exert himself; and the English under the valiant Talbot (afterwards Earl of Shrewsbury), gained several great advantages over the French; Talbot all along giving signal proofs of his valour and conduct, as did the Duke of York, in raising the siege of Pontoise. Things went on much the same way for some years, both sides harrassing one another, and endeavouring to make themselves masters of several places of importance, sometimes one party prevailing, and sometimes the other, till a truce was concluded at Tours, between the two nations, in 1444, which was prolonged from time to time till 1449.

Charles, king of France, being sensible that England was in great confusion by internal disputes, wanted to renew the war, and made great preparations for it, as soon as the truce should be expired. And an accident happened which gave him a handle to begin sooner than he intended. This was the surprising of Fogeres, by Surenne, governor of Lower Normandy for the English, in 1448, whilst the truce subsisted; and the Duke of Somerset, then regent, and the English ministry, refusing to give the satisfaction Charles thought fit to demand, he first took several places by way of reprisals, and then fell upon Normandy with four armies at once, the English having made no preparations for its defence. Rouen opened its gates to the conquerors, Harfleur was besieged and taken, a body of English were defeated in the battle of Fourmigny, the Duke of Somerset surrendered Caen, Cherbourg submitted; and in short, all Normandy was reduced under the power of the French, before the end of August 1450. Guienne, the next year, followed the fate of Normandy, after having been three hundred years in the possession of the English. Some time after, the inhabitants were disposed to throw off the yoke of the French, and return to their old masters,
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and Talbot was sent over with some troops to support them in their design. But being overpowered by the French, as he was attempting to relieve Castillon, he was defeated and slain, and all Guienne again submitted to the French in 1453; and nothing remained to the English, of all their vast acquisitions in France, but only Calais and Guisnes; so ineffectual were the victories of Cressy, Poitiers, and Agincourt.

It may easily be imagined, that such a train of bad success would produce discontents among the rulers at home. The Duke of Gloucester was envied by many on account of his high station. Among these was Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, great uncle to the king, and legitimate son of John of Gaunt brother to Richard II. This prelate, to whom the care of the king's education had been committed, was a man of great capacity and experience, but of an intriguing and dangerous disposition. He had frequent disputes with the Duke of Gloucester, over whom he gained several advantages on account of his open temper. The Duke of Bedford had employed both his own authority and that of parliament to reconcile them, but in vain; their mutual animosities served for several years to embarrass government, and to give its enemies every advantage. The sentiments of the two leaders were particularly divided with regard to France. The bishop laid hold of every prospect of accommodation with that country; and the Duke of Gloucester was for maintaining the honour of the English arms, and regaining whatever had been lost by defeats or delay. Both parties called in all the auxiliaries they could. The bishop resolved to strengthen himself by procuring a proper match for Henry, at that time twenty-three years old; and then bringing over the queen to his interests. Accordingly, the Earl of Suffolk, a nobleman whom he knew to be steadfast in his attachments, was sent over to France, apparently to settle the terms
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of a truce which had then been begun, but in reality to procure a suitable match for the king.

The bishop and his friends had cast their eye on Margaret of Anjou, daughter of Reignier titular king of Sicily, Naples, and Jerusalem; but without either real power or possessions. She was considered as the most accomplished princess of the age, both in mind and person; and it was thought would by her own abilities, be able to supply the defects of her husband, who appeared weak, timid, and superstitious. The treaty was therefore hastened on by Suffolk, and soon after ratified in England. The queen came immediately into the bishop's measures: Gloucester was deprived of all real power, and every method taken to render him odious to the public. One step taken for this purpose was to accuse his duchess of witchcraft. She was charged with conversing with one Roger Bolingbroke, a priest and reputed necromancer; and also with one Mary Gourdain, who was said to be a witch. It was asserted that these three in conjunction had made an image of the king in wax, which was placed before a gentle fire; and, as the wax dissolved, the king's strength was expected to waste; and, upon its total dissolution, his life was to be at an end. This accusation was readily believed in that superstitious age. The prisoners were pronounced guilty; the duchess was condemned to do penance and suffer perpetual imprisonment; Bolingbroke the priest was hanged, and the woman burnt in Smithfield.

The Bishop, called also the Cardinal of Winchester, was resolved to carry his resentment against Gloucester to the utmost. He procured a parliament to be summoned, not at London, which was too well affected to the duke, but at St. Edmundsbury, where his adherents were sufficiently numerous to overawe every opponent. As soon as Gloucester appeared, he was accused of treason and thrown into prison; and on the day on which he was to make his defence, he was found
dead

dead in his bed, though without any signs of violence upon his body. The death of the Duke of Gloucester was universally ascribed to the Cardinal of Winchester, who himself died six weeks after, testifying the utmost remorse for the bloody scene he had acted. What share the queen had in this transaction, is uncertain; but most people believed that without her knowledge the duke's enemies durst not have ventured to take away his life. The king himself shared in the general ill-will, and he never had the art to remove the suspicion. His incapacity also began every day to appear more clearly; and a pretender to the throne soon made his appearance.

In the year 1450, Richard duke of York began to think of preferring his claims to the crown. All the males of the house of Mortimer were extinct; but Anne, the sister of the last Earl of March, having espoused the Earl of Cambridge, who had been beheaded for treason in the reign of Henry V. had transmitted her latent, but not yet forgotten, claim, to her son Richard. This prince, descended by his mother from Philippa only daughter of the Duke of Clarence, second son of Edward III. stood plainly in order of succession before the king; who derived his descent from the Duke of Lancaster, third son to that monarch. The duke was a man of valour and abilities, as well as of some ambition; and he thought the weakness and unpopularity of the present reign afforded a favourable opportunity to assert his title. The ensign of Richard was a white rose, that of Henry a red one; and this gave names to the two factions, who were now about to drench the kingdom in blood.

After the Cardinal of Winchester's death, the Duke of Suffolk, who also had been concerned in the assassination of Gloucester, governed every thing with uncontrollable sway. His conduct soon excited the jealousy of the other nobility, and every odious or unsuccessful measure was attributed to him. The duke,
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however, imagining that his crimes were of such a nature as could not be proved, boldly called upon his enemies to shew an instance of his guilt. The house of commons immediately opened against him a charge of corruption, tyranny and treason. He was accused of being the cause of the loss of France; of persuading the French king, with an armed force, to invade England; and of betraying the secrets of state. The popular resentment against him was so strong, that Henry, in order to secure him as much as possible, sentenced him to five years banishment. This was considered by his enemies as an escape from justice. The captain of a ship was therefore employed to intercept him in his passage to France. He was seized near Dover, his head struck off on the side of a long-boat, and his body thrown into the sea.

The complaints against Henry's government were heightened by an insurrection headed by one John Cade, a native of Ireland. He had been obliged to fly over into France for his crimes: but, on his return, seeing the people prepared for violent measures, he assumed the name of Mortimer; and, at the head of twenty thousand Kentish men, advanced towards Blackheath. The king sent a message to demand the cause of their rising in arms. Cade in the name of the community answered, That their only aim was to punish evil ministers, and procure a redress of grievances for the people. On this a body of fifteen thousand troops were levied, and Henry marched with them in person against Cade, who retired on his approach, as if he had been afraid of coming to an engagement. He lay in ambush, however, in a wood; not doubting but he should be pursued by the king's whole army; but Henry was content with sending a detachment after the fugitives, and returning to London himself; upon which Cade issued from his ambush, and cut the detachment in pieces. Soon after, the citizens of London opened their gates to the victor.

and Cade, for some time, maintained great order and regularity among his followers. He always led them out into the fields in the night-time, and published several edicts against plunder and violence of any kind. He was not, however, long able to keep his people in subjection. He beheaded the treasurer, Lord Say, without any trial; and soon after, his troops committing some irregularities, the citizens resolved to shut their gates against him. Cade endeavouring to force his way, a battle ensued, which lasted all day, and was ended only by the approach of night. The Archbishop of Canterbury, and the chancellor, who had taken refuge in the Tower, being informed of the situation of affairs, drew up, during the night, an act of amnesty, which was privately dispersed among the rebels. This had such an effect, that in the morning Cade found himself abandoned by his followers; and, retreating to Rochester, was obliged to fly alone into the woods. A price being set on his head by proclamation, he was discovered and slain by one Alexander Eden; who, in recompense for this service, was made governor of Dover-castle.

The court now began to entertain suspicions that the insurrection of John Cade had not happened merely in consequence of his own machinations and ambition, but that he had been instigated thereto by the Duke of York, who, as we have already seen, pretended a right to the crown. As he was about this time expected to return from Ireland, and a report took place that he was now to assert his supposed right by force of arms, orders were issued in the king's name to deny him entrance into England. This was prevented by his appearing with no more than his ordinary attendants; but, though he thus escaped the danger for the present, he instantly saw the necessity of proceeding in support of his claim. His partizans were instructed to distinguish between his right by succession and by the laws of the kingdom. The adherents of Lancaster

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maintained, that, though the advancement of Henry IV. might be looked upon as irregular, yet it was founded upon general consent ; or, even allowing it to have been at first invalid, it had now been for a long time established, and acquired solidity of consequence ; nor could the right of succession at any rate be pleaded for the purpose of overthrowing the general peace and tranquillity of the kingdom. The principles of liberty as well as the maxims of true policy had been injured by the house of York ; while the public were bound to those of Lancaster, no less by political than moral duty, in consequence of the oaths of fealty that had been so often sworn to them ; the Duke of York himself having repeatedly sworn allegiance to them, and thus indirectly renounced those claims which he now brought forward to disturb the public tranquillity. On the part of the Duke of York, it was replied, that the good of the people required the maintenance of order in the succession of princes ; that, by adhering constantly to this rule, a number of inconveniences would be prevented which must otherwise ensue ; and, though that order had been broken through in the case of Henry IV. it was never too late to remedy any pernicious precedent. It would indeed be a great encouragement to usurpers, if the immediate possession of power, or their continuance in it for a few years, could convert them into legal princes ; and the people must be in a very miserable situation, if all restraints on violence and ambition were taken off, and full liberty given to every innovator to make what attempts he pleased. They did not indeed deny that time might confer solidity on a government originally founded in usurpation ; but a very long course of years was not only required for this purpose, but a total extinction of those who had any just title. The deposition of Richard II. and advancement of Henry IV. were not legal acts, but the effects of mere levity in the people ; in which the house of York had acquiesced from necessity,

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and not from any belief of the justice of their cause; nor could this be ever interpreted into any renunciation of their pretensions; neither could the restoration of the true order of succession be considered as an encouragement to rebellion and turbulence, but the correction of a former abuse by which rebellion had been encouraged. Besides, the original title of Henry IV. was founded entirely on present convenience; and even this was now entirely shifted to the house of York. The present prince was evidently incapable of governing the kingdom by reason of his imbecility; so that every thing was governed either by corrupt ministers or an imperious queen, who engaged the nation in foreign connections entirely contrary to its interests; while, on the other hand, the true heir of the crown was a prince of approved judgment and experience, and a native of England, who, by his restoration, would undoubtedly correct all those abuses of which there was now such just reason to complain.

In this dispute it was evident that the house of York had the better in point of argument: nevertheless, as a prince of the house of Lancaster was in immediate possession of the throne, and could by no means be charged with any crime, the cause of the former was less generally interesting; especially as it must always have been uncertain, *a priori*, whether the Duke of York would have governed any better than King Henry. After his return from Ireland, however, the former used all his power and influence to foment the discontents which had for some time prevailed in the kingdom; and the conduct of the next parliament manifested the success of his intrigues. A violent attack was made upon such noblemen as were known to be most in favour with the king. The house of commons presented a petition against the Duke of Somerset, the Duchess of Suffolk, the Bishop of Chester, Lord Dudley, and several others of inferior rank; praying not only that the king would remove them

from his council, but that he would prohibit them from coming within twelve miles of the court. Henry, not daring to refuse this petition altogether, consented to banish all those of inferior rank, whom the commons had specified, but only for a year; and this too on condition that he had no use for their assistance in quelling any rebellion. But he rejected a bill for attainting the late Duke of Suffolk, though it had passed both the house of lords and the house of commons.

Encouraged by this disagreement between Henry and his parliament, the Duke of York raised an army of ten thousand men, with whom he marched towards London, demanding a reformation in matters of government, and the removal of the Duke of Somerset. This first enterprise, however, proved unsuccessful; the gates of the city were shut against him, and he was pursued by the king at the head of a superior army. On this he retired into Kent; and, as there was a number of his own friends in the army of the king, a conference took place, in which Richard still insisted upon the removal of the Duke of Somerset, and his submitting to be tried in parliament. This request was in appearance complied with, and Somerset arrested: the Duke of York was then persuaded to wait upon the king in his royal pavilion; but, on repeating his charge against the duke, he was surprised to see the latter come out from behind the curtain, and offer to maintain his innocence. Richard, perceiving that he had not sufficient interest to ruin his adversary, pretended to be satisfied, and retired to his seat at Wigmore in Wales; and, during the time he resided there, a better opportunity was given him of accomplishing his designs than he could have hoped for. The king fell into a kind of lethargic disorder, which increased his natural imbecillity to such a degree, that he could no longer retain a shadow of royalty. Richard now had interest enough to get himself appointed protector, with power

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er to hold parliaments at pleasure ; with which high office he was no sooner invested, than he turned out all the Lancastrian party from their offices, and sent the Duke of Somerset to the Tower : but on the recovery of the king, which happened in no long time after, he himself was dismissed from his employment, the Duke of Somerset released, and the administration once more put into his hands. On this the Duke of York levied an army, merely, as he pretended, to enforce the reformation of government, and the removal of the Duke of Somerset.

The principal support of the York interest was the Earl of Warwick, who filled the office of lord high admiral. This brave and accomplished nobleman fitted out a fleet, which he sent against the Spaniards : a very warm conflict ensued ; but, at length, the force of Spain was vanquished, and six ships of that nation, laden with iron and other valuable merchandise, were taken, and twenty-six others were either sunk or driven ashore.---About the same time a misunderstanding arose between England and the court of Denmark, occasioned by the former fishing on the coasts of Iceland, in opposition to the prohibitions expressly made against it. The governor of Iceland, in attempting to drive away some English who had landed there, was killed. To revenge this injury, the court of Denmark seized on, and confiscated, four English ships bound from Prussia. The Hanse-Towns being suspected of abetting these proceedings of Denmark, the persons and ships of their merchants, who were then in England, were seized by way of reprisal ; and the German princes having, in vain, sued at the English court for the release of these merchants, together with their ships and merchandise, at length a naval war broke out between England and the oriental Hanseatics, or the towns within the Baltic, on the German and Prussian seas, which continued three years with various success ;
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but the posture of affairs at that time in England was very unfavourable to the maintaining of a foreign war: a weak king, and powerful and opposing factions, debilitated the national strength, which, when fully exerted, has ever been found sufficient to crush the power that opposes it.

The time was now come for the fortune of France every where to preponderate. In the year 1453 Bourdeaux surrendered to Charles VII. after the English had possessed it for about three hundred years. The loss of this place was a great blow to the maritime traffic of England, as the wines shipped from thence supplied the whole kingdom with that article. Bayonne soon after became subject to France; after which, nothing remained on the continent in the hands of the English, but the town of Calais, and the adjacent country of Guienne. The French having, in three months, reduced the whole duchy of Normandy, and, in one summer, that of Aquitaine, or Gascony. They then proceeded to annoy the English coasts with their ships, and, landing in Kent, burnt the town of Sandwich; proceeding thence to the coast of Cornwall, they burnt the town of Fowey.---The Earl of Warwick, who had been appointed governor of Calais, passed over thither, baffling the attempts of the queen's party to cut him off by treachery. Being possessed of a considerable naval force, he employed it so effectually, as to intercept all aid from France to strengthen the hands of Margaret, and very essentially to promote the interests of the Duke of York. In one of these cruises he fell in with some large ships belonging to Spain and Genoa, which he overcame, after an obstinate engagement, maintained, on both sides, for two succeeding days. This action we have illustrated with a plate; it happened in 1453.

The views of each party now hurried them on to open and unreserved acts of hostility. The Duke of York retired into Ireland; and many of the nobility passed

passed over to Calais, where the Earl of Warwick still kept a considerable fleet. The queen commissioned Lord Rivers to collect, at Sandwich, the royal navy, and attack Warwick in Calais. But that vigilant commander anticipated the intended visit, and sent a force, under the command of Sir John Dineham, which surprised the king's ships as they lay in harbour, and carried them, and their commander Lord Rivers, into Calais. An ineffectual attempt was afterwards made to burn the earl's fleet in the haven.

The Duke of York, as before observed, levied an army professedly to oppose the Duke of Somerset, who was then at the head of the queen's army, but without advancing any pretensions to the crown. He complained only of the king's ministers, and demanded a reformation in the government. A battle was fought at St. Alban's, in the year 1455, in which the Yorkists prevailed; and, without sustaining any considerable loss, slew near five thousand of their enemies, among whom were the Duke of Somerset, the Earl of Northumberland, the Earl of Stafford, (eldest son of the Duke of Buckingham,) Lord Clifford, and many other persons of distinction. Immediately after this action the king himself was taken prisoner, and was treated by the Duke of York with great respect and tenderness; he was only required to commit the whole authority of the crown into the hands of his rival. But this surrender did no great violence to the feelings of the inactive Henry.---In this battle the first blood was spilt in that fatal quarrel, which was not finished in less than a course of thirty years; was distinguished by twelve pitched battles, and opened a scene of extraordinary fierceness and cruelty. The civil war waged on this account is computed to have cost the lives of eighty princes of the blood, and almost entirely annihilated the ancient nobility of England. The strong attachments which, at that time, men of the same kindred bore to each other, and the vindictive spirit which was considered

considered as a point of honour, rendered the great families implacable in their resentments, and every moment widened the breach between the parties. Yet affairs did not proceed immediately to the last extremities: the nation was kept some time in suspense: the vigour and spirit of Queen Margaret, supporting her small power, still proved a balance for the great authority of Richard, which was further checked by his ir-resolute temper.

Henry, though he was now only a prisoner treated with the forms of royalty, was nevertheless pleased with his situation; but his queen, a woman of a bold and masculine spirit, could not bear to have only the appearance of authority, while others enjoyed all the real power. She therefore excited the king once more to assert his right by force of arms; and, after several manœuvres, the Duke of York was obliged to retire from court. A negotiation for peace was at first set on foot, but the mutual distrusts of both parties soon broke it off. The armies met at Bloreheath, on the borders of Staffordshire, on the 23d of September, 1459, and the Yorkists at first gained some advantages; but, when a more general engagement was about to ensue, a body of veterans who served under the Duke of York deserted to the king; and this so intimidated the duke's party, that they separated the next day without striking a blow. The Duke of York fled to Ireland; and the Earl of Warwick, one of his ablest and best supporters, escaped to Calais, with the government of which he had been entrusted during the late protectorship.

The York party, though thus in appearance suppressed, only waited a favourable opportunity of retrieving their affairs; nor was it long wanting. Warwick soon after landed in Kent, after having defeated Sir Simon Mountford, the warden of the cinque-ports, who, with a strong squadron, opposed his descent. In this action Sir Simon was killed. He then proceeded,
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with the Earl of Salisbury, and the Earl of Marche, (eldest son of the Duke of York,) to London, where he was received with great cordiality. Warwick was the most celebrated general of his age; a man formed for great exploits, and possessing such popularity as almost to decide the success of the party with whom he sided. This earl, at the head of the army of Yorkists, joined battle with the Lancastrian forces near Northampton. Queen Margaret, who headed the army that fought for the king her husband, had twenty-five thousand men, which were greatly outnumbered by the enemy. The contest was maintained with great obstinacy on both sides, for the space of five hours, when, victory declaring for the Earl of Warwick, the royalists were entirely defeated, and the king again taken prisoner. The Duke of York then openly laid claim to the crown; and on this occasion the first instance of a spirit of national liberty is said to have appeared in the house of lords. The cause of Henry and the Duke of York was solemnly debated; and the latter, though a conqueror, did not absolutely gain his cause. It was determined that Henry should possess the throne during his life; and that the Duke of York should be appointed his successor, to the utter exclusion of the Prince of Wales, who was then a child.

All resources seemed now to be withdrawn from the vanquished Margaret; but in this desperate posture of her affairs she retained her native perseverance and intrepidity. After the late defeat she had fled into Wales; and, again passing into England, she applied to the northern barons, and made use of every motive to influence them to assist her. Her affability, insinuation, and address, qualities in which she excelled; her caresses and her promises; wrought a powerful effect on every one who approached her. The admiration of her great qualities was succeeded by compassion towards her helpless condition. The nobility of that quarter,

who regarded themselves as the most warlike in the kingdom, were moved with indignation, to find the southern barons pretend to dispose of the crown, and settle the government. To allure the people to their standard, they promised them the spoils of all the country south of the Trent. An army of twenty thousand men was drawn together by these means, with a celerity that surprised both parties.

This army the queen led against her implacable enemy the Duke of York, who was at the head of only five thousand men, little expecting to contend with so large a body of foes. An excess of personal bravery engaged him in a very unequal battle, on Wakefield-green, in Yorkshire. The duke himself was killed in the action; and, his body being found among the slain, Margaret directed the head to be cut off, and fixed upon the walls of the city of York. The Earl of Rutland, the duke's second son, a youth of seventeen, was taken prisoner, and killed in cold blood by Lord Clifford, in revenge for his father's death, who had fallen in the battle of St. Alban's.

After this victory, Margaret marched towards London, in order to set the king at liberty; but the Earl of Warwick, who now put himself at the head of the Yorkists, led about the captive king, in order to give a sanction to his proceedings. He engaged the queen's forces at St. Alban's; but through the treachery of Lord Lovelace, who deserted during the heat of the engagement with a considerable body of forces, Warwick was defeated, and the king fell once more into the hands of his own party.

The submission of the city of London seemed now to be the only thing wanting to complete the queen's success; but Warwick had secured it in his interests, and the citizens refused to open their gates to the queen. In the mean time, young Edward, eldest son of the late Duke of York, put himself at the head of his father's party. He was now in the bloom of youth, remarkable

able for the beauty of his person and his bravery, and was a great favourite of the people. He defeated Jasper Tudor earl of Pembroke, at Mortimer's-cross in Herefordshire. The earl himself was taken prisoner, and immediately beheaded by Edward's orders. After this, he advanced to London; and, being joined by the remainder of Warwick's army, he soon obliged Margaret to retire, entered the city amidst the acclamations of the people, and was crowned king on the 5th of March, 1461. Thus was Henry VI. deposed, after holding, though very unsteadily, the English sceptre near thirty-nine years.

Though Henry was not murdered till about twelve years after this event, (namely in the fiftieth year of his age,) yet, as from this time he became of very little consequence, we shall here sum up his character in a few words.---Henry VI. without any princely virtue or qualification, was totally free from cruelty and revenge: on the contrary, he could not, without reluctance, consent to the punishment of those malefactors who were sacrificed to the public safety; and frequently sustained personal indignities of the grossest nature, without discovering the least mark of resentment. He was chaste, pious, compassionate, and charitable. In a word, he would have adorned a cloister, though he disgraced a crown; and was rather respectable for those vices he wanted, than for the virtues he possessed. He founded the college of Eton, near Windsor, and King's College, in Cambridge, for the reception of those scholars who had begun their studies at Eton.

The most remarkable commercial events of this period are the following:---At this time lived William Canning, an eminent merchant, who had been five times mayor of Bristol. In the eleventh volume of Rymer's *Fædera* are two letters from Henry VI. the one to the master-general of Prussia, the other to the magistrates of the city of Dantzick, recommending two of Canning's factors residing in Prussia; request-

ing all possible favour and countenance to be shewn them, on account of their employer, whom the king styles, his "beloved, and an eminent merchant of the city of Bristol." The next year the same William Canning obtained of the king, a grant of trading with two ships to Iceland, Halgelandt, and Finmark, for two years, notwithstanding an express act of parliament prohibited all trade thither. Thus was the king's dispensing power set up in opposition to the law of the land.

At the request of one John Taverner, of Hull, King Henry granted, that a large ship, which this man had built, and in size was equal, if not superior, to a great carrack, should be called the Grace-Dieu carrack. The king likewise granted a licence to the owner to export therein wool, tin, skins, leather, and other merchandise, from the ports of London, Southampton, Hull, and Sandwich, belonging either to English or to foreign merchants; and to convey it through the straits of Morocco (Gibraltar) into Italy, he paying aliens duties for the same; and to bring home such merchandise of other nations as was most wanted in England, such as bow-staves, wax, &c.

At the request of Charles king of Sweden, King Henry granted a licence for a Swedish ship, of the burden of a thousand tons, laden with merchandise, and having one hundred and twenty persons on-board, to come to the ports of England; there to dispose of her lading, and to re-lade back with English merchandise. Thus we see those northern people had acquired the art of constructing ships of great burden, from the example of the Hanseatic ports of Lubeck, Wismar, Rostock, &c. in their neighbourhood, long before either the English or the French had any vessels of such large dimensions.

We find a licence granted by the king to a merchant of Cracow, in Poland, to bring into England a ruby, weighing two hundred and fourteen carrats, for sale, provided

provided the first offer of it was made to the king and queen.

An English merchant-ship having been taken by a ship of war belonging to Genoa, in the Levant, all the Genoese merchants in London were seized, and committed to the Fleet-prison; and were afterwards amerced in the sum of six thousand marks, to make good to the owners their loss by the capture. Hence it appears, that the English merchants had considerably extended their commerce at this time.---The Genoese, and other Italians, at a very early period, named the seas east of Italy by the general appellation of the Levant.

The cluster of nine islands lying almost eight hundred miles directly west from Portugal, called the Azores, Terceras, or Western Islands, was accidentally discovered by a Flemish trader, who, in a voyage he was making to Lisbon, happened to be driven, by a storm, so far westward as those then uninhabited islands. This discovery was made in the year 1449, or, according to others, in 1455; some indeed place it so far later as the year 1481.---The Cape de Verd Islands were discovered by the Spaniards in 1449.

OF THE WARS OF ENGLAND UNDER THE HOUSE OF YORK.

EDWARD IV. a few days after he ascended the throne, was obliged to think of defending it; for King Henry's queen had found means to encrease her army in the north to sixty thousand. King Edward, therefore, put himself at the head of forty thousand men, accompanied by the Earl of Warwick, and marched to Pontefract, in Yorkshire, when, to secure the passage of the river Aire, he sent Lord Fitzwalter to place himself with a strong detachment at Ferry-bridge. He accordingly took possession of the passage, but his troops were afterwards defeated and forced away by Lord Clifford, and himself killed. The Earl
of

of Warwick therefore sent another detachment, commanded by his brother Lord Falconbridge, when Lord Clifford was defeated, and killed as he was flying away; and thus was the passage recovered.---King Edward passed the river the next day, and, though his army was twenty thousand less in number than that of the Lancaster party, yet he offered them battle. But, at the beginning of the action, a very lucky accident arose in his favour; a thick flight of snow, which the wind drove into the face of the enemies, and which greatly distressed them. The engagement, however, continued with great resolution on both sides, from ten in the morning till almost evening, when Edward proved victorious. A very great number of the rebels were slain; for, as their army was so very numerous, Edward had ordered no quarter to be given. About thirty-seven thousand men were killed in this action, among whom were several persons of distinction, and the rivulet of Wherf was dyed with their blood. This was called the battle of Towton, from a village of that name near where the action happened.---King Henry and Queen Margaret waited the event of the battle, of which as soon as they were informed, they removed from thence to Edinburgh.

In the mean time Edward was solicitous to conclude a truce with Scotland, in order to prevent Henry and his queen from having any assistance from thence; but Margaret, to break his measures, delivered up Berwick to the Scots, and concluded a marriage between Prince Edward her son and Margaret sister to King James III. But, as there were violent factions in Scotland at this time, King Edward concluded a treaty with the Earl of Ross and those of his party, in order to stir up new troubles there.

Queen Margaret had gone over to France to solicit succours from Louis XI. which having obtained, she entered Northumberland, with Henry, and the prince her son, in 1463. She had also some assistance from the

the Scots, and her army daily encreased by the coming in of the English in the northern parts, so that it soon became very considerable. Edward immediately sent Lord Montague, brother to the Earl of Warwick, to oppose their passage, designing to follow himself with a greater force. Montague, in his march, met with a detachment of the enemy, under Lords Hungerford and Rofs, which he attacked and totally routed. And then, marching on to Hexham, he surpris'd Henry in his entrenchments, and obtained a complete victory. The Duke of Somerset, and Lords Rofs and Hungerford, were taken prisoners and beheaded, with several other officers of note.

By these repeated misfortunes the house of Lancaster was so effectually ruined, that Margaret was obliged to separate from her husband, and both of them to shift for themselves in the best way they could. The king was still protected by some of his friends, who conveyed him to Lancashire, where he remained in safety for a twelvemonth; but, being at last discovered, he was thrown into the Tower and kept close prisoner. The queen fled with her son to a forest, where she was set upon by robbers, who stripped her of her rings and jewels, treating her otherwise with the utmost indignity. A quarrel which happened among them about the division of the spoil afforded her an opportunity of escaping from their hands into another part of the forest, where she wandered for some time without knowing what to do. At last, when quite spent with hunger and fatigue, she saw a robber coming up to her with a drawn sword in his hand. Finding it altogether impossible to escape, she suddenly took the resolution of putting herself under his protection. Advancing towards him, therefore, and presenting the young prince, "Here (says she), my friend, I commit to your care the safety of your king's son." This address so much surpris'd the robber, that, instead of offering her any injury, he profess'd himself entirely devoted to her service.

vice. After living for some time concealed in the forest, she was at last conducted to the sea-side, where she found a ship which conveyed her to Flanders. On her arrival there, she went to her father's house, who, though very poor, gave her such entertainment as he could afford; and in this retreat she staid some years, in expectation of finding an opportunity of retrieving her affairs.

King Edward now, having no enemies to oppose him, confiscated the estates of the Lancastrians who refused to make their submission by a time prefixed, and bestowed them on his friends: after which, he studied to make himself popular, and by all manner of ways to gain the affection of his subjects. He even granted an absolute pardon to all Henry's friends, excepting only Ralph Grey and Humphrey Nevil.

In 1464, the king sent the Earl of Warwick to demand for him in marriage, Bona of Savoy, sister to the Queen of France; who concluded a treaty with the King of France for that purpose. But, whilst this affair was negotiating, he married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Richard Woodville, and widow of Sir John Grey. ---Edward had employed his arts of seduction against this lady in vain before he married her; but unfortunately the match was concluded just at the time that the Earl of Warwick had proved successful in his negotiation with the Princess of Savoy. The minister therefore returned full of indignation against his sovereign: and Edward, forgetting how great cause he had to be offended, determined to remove him entirely from his councils. Warwick was likewise disgusted by the favour shewn to the queen's party; which, though certainly a piece of very commendable policy in Edward, was entirely disagreeable to the ambitious disposition of that nobleman. A plan of revenge was therefore thought of; and a most powerful combination was formed against Edward: to accomplish which, Warwick not only employed his own influence, which

was very extensive, but likewise that of the Duke of Clarence, Edward's brother, to whom the earl had allied himself by giving him his daughter in marriage; after which he persuaded him to embrace his cause. Some circumstances which took place about this time also favoured the scheme. The inhabitants about St. Leonard's, in Yorkshire, complained that the duties levied for that institution, and which had been originally appointed for pious purposes, were secreted by the managers, who refused to contribute their part. As the clergy were concerned in this affair, they attempted to silence their antagonists by ecclesiastical fulminations against them; upon which the latter took up arms, fell upon the officers of the hospital, and, having massacred them, proceeded towards York, to the number of fifteen thousand. In the first skirmish they had the misfortune to lose their leader, who was instantly executed. The rebels, however, still continued in arms, and in a short time appeared in such numbers as to become formidable to government. Henry earl of Pembroke was sent against them with a body of five thousand men; and, having taken Sir Henry Nevil, one of the leaders of the insurgents, prisoner, instantly put him to death; but this was soon revenged by a similar execution on himself, who happened to be defeated and taken prisoner a short time after. This defeat had been occasioned by a disagreement betwixt the Earls of Pembroke and Devonshire; in consequence of which the latter had gone off with his troops, leaving Pembroke to shift for himself the best way he could. The king, enraged at this, caused Devonshire to be executed in a like summary manner: but this was of no service to his cause; a new body of insurgents appeared under Sir Robert Welles, son to a nobleman of that name. The latter, in order to secure himself from all suspicions of disloyalty, fled to a monastery; but he was soon enticed from thence and put to death by the insidious promises of King

Edward, whose treachery was equal to his cruelty. His son soon after shared the same fate, being defeated and taken prisoner by Edward, who instantly ordered him to be beheaded, along with Sir Thomas Launde and other persons of distinction.

Notwithstanding such an appearance of a general insurrection, the king had so little suspicion of the loyalty of Warwick and Clarence, that he employed them in raising troops to quell the insurgents. Instead of executing their commission with fidelity, however, they joined the malcontents with all the forces they could raise; but, being quite disconcerted by the defeat and death of Sir Robert Welles, they retired to Lancashire, in hopes of being joined by Lord Stanley, who had married the Earl of Warwick's sister. Being disappointed in this, they were obliged to disband their army, and fly into Devonshire, whence they set sail for Calais. Upon their arrival on the continent, matters seemed not to be much mended: the deputy-governor, whom Warwick had left, refused him admittance; nor would he even allow the Duchess of Clarence to land, though she had been delivered of a son on-board only a very few days before, and was at that time extremely ill. Being well acquainted, however, with the uncertainty of the affairs of England at that time, he afterwards made an apology to Warwick for this behaviour. The latter pretended to be easily reconciled; but immediately left the place, having seized some Flemish vessels which he found lying in the neighbourhood.

As a very close alliance subsisted between Warwick and the Duke of Burgundy, the King of France became uneasy; and therefore, as soon as the earl landed on his dominions, received him with the greatest marks of esteem. The reconciliation betwixt him and the unfortunate Queen Magaret now seemed to be natural, though, considering all circumstances, this must have formerly appeared in a manner impossible. The earl's father had been put to death by the orders of Magaret;

ret; and Warwick, in return, had twice taken prisoner King Henry, banished the queen, and put to death almost all their faithful adherents. By the mediation of the French monarch, however, all differences were accommodated. A fleet was prepared to re-conduct them to England; and, seizing a proper opportunity, they landed at Dartmouth with a small body of troops, while Edward was in the north suppressing an insurrection which had lately appeared there. Warwick was attended with astonishing success on his arrival in England, and in less than six days saw himself at the head of sixty thousand men. Edward was now obliged in his turn to fly the kingdom. Having narrowly escaped an attempt made upon his person by the Marquis of Montague, he embarked on-board a small fleet which lay off Lynn in Norfolk. While at sea, he was chased by some ships belonging to the Hans Towns that were then at war both with France and England; but at length, having escaped all dangers, Edward landed safely in Holland, where he met with but an indifferent reception from the Duke of Burgundy, with whom he had lately entered into an alliance.

Warwick in the meantime advanced to London, and once more released and placed on the throne the miserable King Henry VI. A parliament was called, which very solemnly confirmed Henry's title to the throne, and Warwick himself was dignified by the people with the title of the King-maker. All the attainders of the Lancastrians were reversed; and every one was restored who had lost either honours or fortune by his former adherence to Henry's cause. At the same time Edward the Fourth's queen, whose ambition had caused this revolution, was left in England great with child; and, in the utmost distress, took sanctuary at Westminster, where she was delivered of a son, who was named Edward, and of whom we are presently to speak. All the exiled Lancastrians now flocked to the newly-erected standard; among the rest the Duke of Somerset, son

of a duke beheaded after the battle of Hexham. And here it will be proper, for a moment, to stop, and remark the extreme distress to which the most distinguished characters were reduced in these times, when the shaft of adversity seemed particularly levelled at those of exalted rank. This nobleman, whose father had long been considered as the head of the party who had governed the kingdom during the imbecile reign of Henry VI. had fled into the Low Countries on the discomfiture of his friends; and, as he concealed his name and quality, he had there languished in extreme indigence. Philip de Comines tells us, that he saw him, as well as the Duke of Exeter, following the Duke of Burgundy's equipage barefooted, and serving, for their livelihood, as footmen. High birth, in those times, only subjected the possessor to a pre-eminence in misery. The storm that rends the oak passes over the reed. All the adherents of Edward fled to the continent, or took shelter in monasteries, where they were protected by the ecclesiastical privileges. But Edward's party was not yet destroyed. After an absence of nine months, being seconded by a small body of troops granted him by the Duke of Burgundy, he made a descent at Ravenspur, in Yorkshire. At first he met with little success; but, his army increasing on his march, he was soon in a condition to appear before the capital, which immediately opened its gates.

The unfortunate Henry was thus again plucked from the throne; and the hopes of Warwick were almost totally blasted by the defection of Clarence, Edward's brother. Nothing now remained but to come to an engagement as soon as possible. Warwick knew his forces to be inferior to those of Edward, but placed great dependence on his own generalship. He therefore advanced to Barnet, within ten miles of London, where he resolved to wait the coming of Edward. The latter soon came up with him; and, on the 14th of April, 1471, the prize of empire was most warmly
contended

contended for. Early in the morning the battle was joined, and a fierce conflict was maintained till noon. The ambition of the two leaders had rendered their adherents prodigal of life, and only intent on slaughter and devastation. The example of Warwick inspired his troops with more than common resolution; and victory, for a while, seemed propitious to his exertions; but, in the issue, one fatal mischance entirely reversed the fortune of the day. A part of his army, deceived by the haziness of the weather, and the resemblance of the armour worn, mistook a party of his own forces for that of the enemy, and, falling furiously upon them, spread a general consternation. Warwick did all that experience, conduct, and valour, could suggest to retrieve the mistake, but in vain. Abandoning himself, therefore, to despair, he determined to die manfully in the field, rather than to swell the triumph of the conqueror, and glut his revenge. Rushing on foot, as he was, into the midst of his enemies, he fell, covered over with wounds. Thus died the ambitious Warwick, who had made and unmade kings at pleasure. Ten thousand of his army fell on that day; the obdurate Edward having ordered that no quarter should be given.

The queen was just then returned with her son from France, where she had been soliciting supplies. She had scarcely time to refresh herself from the fatigues of the voyage, when she received the fatal news of the death of Warwick, and the total destruction of her party. All her resolution was not able to support her under such a terrible disaster. Her grief now for the first time, it is said, manifested itself by her tears; and she immediately took sanctuary in the abbey of Beaulieu, in Hampshire. Here she still found some friends willing to assist her. Tudor earl of Pembroke, Courtnay earl of Devonshire, the Lords Wenlock and St. John, with some other men of rank, encouraged her yet to hope for success, and promised to stand by

her to the last. On this assurance she resumed her courage ; and, advancing through the counties of Devon, Somerset, and Gloucester, increased her army every day. At last, however, she was overtaken by Edward with his victorious army at Tewkesbury, on the banks of the Severn. The queen's army was totally defeated ; the Earl of Devonshire and Lord Wenlock were killed in the field ; the Duke of Somerset, and about twenty other persons of distinction, who had taken shelter in a church, were surrounded, dragged out, and immediately beheaded ; about three thousand of their party fell in battle, and the army was entirely dispersed. Queen Margaret and her son were taken prisoners, and brought to the king, who asked the prince in an insulting manner, how he dared to invade his dominions ? The young prince replied, that he came thither to claim his just inheritance ; upon which Edward struck him on the face with his gauntlet. The Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, Lord Hastings, and Sir Thomas Gray, taking this blow as a signal for farther violence, hurried the prince into the next apartment, and there dispatched him with their daggers. To complete the tragedy, Henry himself, who had long been the passive spectator of all these cruelties, was now thought unfit to live : whilst confined in the Tower, it is pretended, and was generally believed, says Mr. Hume, that the Duke of Gloucester killed him with his own hands. But, he adds, “ the universal odium which that prince had incurred, inclined, perhaps, the nation to aggravate his crimes without any sufficient authority.” It is certain, however, that Henry's death was sudden ; and, though he laboured under an ill state of health, this circumstance, joined to the manners of the age, gave a natural ground of suspicion, which was rather increased than diminished, by the exposing of his body to public view. That precaution served only to recall many similar instances in the English history, and to suggest

suggest the comparifon. Of all thofe that were made prifoners, none were fuffered to furvive but Queen Margaret. Doubtlefs, the king's resentments were as ftrong againft this lady as againft any of the Lancastrian party ; but a regard to her fex, more particularly her affinity to the French king, and her being no longer dangerous after the death of her husband and fon, mitigated the feverity of her fate. This very diftinguifhed heroine had maintained the caufe of her husband for fixteen years ; in which time fhe had fought twelve battles, and had experienced fuch fluctuations of fortune, as are fcarcely to be paralleled.

In the mean time the fleet, which had ever been fubfervient to the Earl of Warwick, was now commanded by Thomas Nevil, the baftard of Falconberg, who held it in the name of King Henry ; but availed himfelf of the afcendancy which it gave him to enrich himfelf, in thefe times of general commotion. Whilft Edward was with his army, in Worcefterfhire, this freebooter formed a defign of furprifing the city of London ; in order to which he entered the Thames, and landed with feventeen thoufand men, with whom he boldly attacked the place : this attack was gallantly withftood by the citizens, who defended themfelves with fuch refolution, that he was forced to retreat with great lofs. Soon after he gave up the fleet, and fubmitted himfelf to the king, who knighted him, and made him vice-admiral ; which honour, however, he did not long enjoy ; for, entering into fome new intrigues, he was detected, and loft his head.

The king had no fooner fettled his affairs at home, and reftored the peace and naval power of England, than he determined on an expedition againft France, in revenge for the fuccour and affiftance which the king of that nation had given to his enemies ; for which a fair occafion now offered, by the breaking out of a war between Louis XI. and Charles the Bold duke of Burgundy. For this purpofe he formed an alliance
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with the emperor Frederic III. and king of Hungary. It appears from Rymer, that he summoned all English ships, of sixteen tons and upwards, to be ready; as also the artillery, viz. cannon, (named culverins, fowlers, serpentines, &c.) besides bows, arrows, spears, and swords; no hand-guns being as yet invented. Also ammunition, as gun-powder, [pulveres] sulphur, salt-petre, stones (for bullets), iron, lead, &c. All which he directed his officers to seize every where for his use, paying ready money for them, (as was usual in like cases.)

Edward passed over to the assistance of his brother-in-law the Duke of Burgundy, with a mighty army, and a fleet of five hundred sail, with which, in the month of July, 1475, he entered the road of Calais, where he disembarked his troops. The marine strength of England, at this time, plainly appears from hence, and its consequence may be fairly inferred. After the nation had been debilitated by such repeated and destructive revolutions, we find the king undertaking this important expedition with such a respectable force.

Edward, on his arrival, sent a herald to Louis to claim the crown of France, and to carry him a defiance in case of a refusal. The French king, far from replying to this bravado in a haughty stile, answered it with great temper, and even made the herald a considerable present. He afterwards dispatched a herald to the English camp; and, having given him directions to apply to the Lords Stanley and Howard, who, he heard, were friends to peace, he desired the good offices of these noblemen in promoting an accommodation with the King of England, their master. Edward, by this time, wanted to exchange the din of war for revellings with his mistresses: each monarch entertaining, therefore, pacific dispositions, a treaty was soon entered into, by which a truce, for one hundred years, was agreed upon between the two nations, on terms
more

more advantageous than honourable to Louis. He stipulated to pay Edward, immediately, seventy-five thousand crowns, on condition that he should withdraw his army from France; and promised to pay him fifty thousand crowns a-year during their joint lives: for the due payment of which, the directors of the bank of Medicis, at Florence, became bound.---The reason why the treaties between England and France were called truces, ever since those provinces, which formerly belonged to England, were conquered by France, was, to prevent the claims of England on France from being started; a truce being nothing more than a cessation of hostilities.

By this treaty it was further stipulated, that the dauphin, when of age, should marry the princess Elizabeth, the King of England's eldest daughter. In order to ratify which, the two kings agreed to have a personal interview; and, for that purpose, suitable preparations were made at Perpignan, near Amiens. Here Edward and Louis conferred privately together; and, having confirmed their friendship, and exchanged many mutual civilities, they soon after parted. The most honourable part of Louis's treaty with Edward was, the stipulation for the liberty of Queen Margaret. For the ransom of this lady Louis paid fifty thousand crowns: from that time she passed her days in an obscure unruffled retirement till the year 1482, when she died. "She seems," says Mr. Hume, "neither to have possessed the virtues, nor to have been subject to the weaknesses, of her sex; and was as much tainted with the ferocity, as endowed with the courage, of that barbarous age."

The annual subsidy hereby agreed to be paid by France to England, was looked upon, and with reason, as a kind of tribute. Edward, we are told, applied a considerable part of the sums thus raised to the repair of his navy, for which he always shewed great concern; and, by keeping squadrons continually at

sea, held the French in constant terrors ; whose king, to secure peace, distributed annually vast sums among the privy-council of England.

A war with Scotland gave the king an opportunity of displaying his force, by sending a great army, under the command of his brother the Duke of Gloucester, into that country, and a powerful fleet to cruize upon its coast ; which so terrified the Scotch, that they obliged their prince to accept terms of accommodation.

Edward, being now freed from all his enemies, began to inflict punishment on those who had formerly appeared against him. Among the cruelties he committed, that on his brother the Duke of Clarence was the most remarkable. The king happening to be one day hunting in the park of Thomas Burdet, a servant of the duke, killed a white buck which was a great favourite of the owner. Burdet, vexed at the loss, broke out into a passion, and wished the horns of the deer in the belly of the person who advised the king to that insult. For this exclamation Burdet was tried for his life, and executed at Tyburn. The Duke of Clarence exclaimed against the iniquity of this sentence ; upon which he was arraigned before the house of peers, found guilty, and condemned to death. The only favour granted him was to have the choice of his death ; and his choice was a very singular one, namely, to be drowned in a butt of Malmsey wine ; which was accordingly done. The Duke of Clarence left two children by the elder daughter of the Earl of Warwick : a son, created an earl by his grandfather's title ; and a daughter, afterwards Countess of Salisbury ; each of whom died a violent death ; a fate which, for many years, attended almost all the descendants of the royal blood of England.

Edward had likewise crossed the humour of the nation in refusing succour to the Flemings, who were the natural allies of the English, and from whom they annually gained large sums by the balance of trade. The
national

national discontent was further increased, by its becoming apparent, that the French king never intended to perform the most essential points of the last peace, particularly that relating to the marriage of the dauphin with the princess-royal. This duplicity of Louis determined Edward to keep no terms with that perfidious monarch: he, therefore, prepared for war; in the prosecution of which he determined to rely chiefly on his strength at sea, and not at all on the promises of his allies; the experience, both of himself and his predecessors, strongly attesting the fallacy of such a dependence. The pains King Edward took in disposing all things for a French war, and especially in drawing together a numerous fleet, was so agreeable to his people, that they seemed heartily inclined to bear the expence which such an expedition must occasion. But, in the midst of these hostile preparations, the king was seized with a sudden disorder, which, unexpectedly, closed his life on the 9th of April, 1483, when he had reigned twenty-two years, and lived about forty-two. Mezeray very candidly owns that the king's death was a great deliverance to France, as it freed her from the terror of beholding again an English army, under a victorious king, at the gates of Paris.

Edward IV. was a king more splendid and showy than either prudent or virtuous; brave, though cruel; addicted to pleasure, though capable of activity in great emergencies; and less fitted to prevent ills by wise precautions, than to remedy them, after they had taken place, by his vigour and enterprize. Besides five daughters, this king left two sons; Edward prince of Wales, his successor, then in his thirteenth year; and Richard duke of York, in his ninth.

We shall now proceed to recapitulate the most material commercial events in this reign.---King Edward IV. calling in question the validity of the powers of the ancient charter granted to the German merchants, of the Steel-yard, of London, they procured a renewal

and confirmation of their charter, by presenting that monarch with a large sum of money. The charter of the society of English merchants trading to the Netherlands, was at the same time renewed, retaining its ancient name of The Society of St. Thomas Becket, afterwards named The Merchant-adventurers of England. The poverty of the prince, most probably, occasioned these grants.

The provinces of the Netherlands, and more especially Flanders and Brabant, were in their meridian glory when their prince, stiled the Good Duke of Burgundy, deceased, and was succeeded by his son Charles the Bold, who married Margaret, sister to King Edward IV. of England. Sir William Temple observes, that, by the great extent of a populous country, and the growth of trade in Bruges, Ghent, and Antwerp, these two successive dukes found themselves a match for France, then much reduced, as well by the long continued wars with England as by the factions fomented by its princes. Charles the Bold added, to the great dominions which his father left him, the dukedom of Guelders and the county of Zutphen, in 1473. The Netherlands, at this time, were enriched by their vast manufactures of linen and woollen; for, although the latter had a rival in England, the English having learnt to manufacture the woollen cloth which they consumed, yet other European markets had been found for that commodity, which compensated for the loss of that by which it had formerly subsisted. The ill-directed ambition and false policy of Charles, however, were very destructive to the country which he governed. By precipitating himself into wars with France and the Switzers, he was obliged to levy heavy taxes, which his successors very improvidently augmented, and thereby reduced a country, which, under a wise and prudent government, might long have remained the most opulent in Christendom: hereby transmitting to other nations, and to future times, a lesson

lesson well worthy of regard. The Duke of Burgundy's fleet was, at this time, the greatest in Europe, according to Philip de Comines; whilst England, regardless of her local advantages, after pursuing a most destructive plan of policy, by wasting its best blood and treasure in continental wars, was torn with civil commotions.

Voltaire, in his General History of Europe, describes Antwerp as the great staple of the northern nations: "in Ghent," says he, "there were fifty thousand artificers employed in the woollen manufacture; Arras was celebrated for its beautiful tapestries."

Two English merchants having, by encouragement from the Spanish Duke of Medina Sidonia, fitted out a fleet for a voyage to Guinea, John II. king of Portugal sent an embassy to Edward IV. to put a stop to that expedition; he claiming, by discovery and prior possession, the seniory of Guinea; whereupon the enterprize was laid aside.

The fishing-trade of England, for exportation, must have been considerable at this time, as no less than four statutes were enacted in one year, (two of which are now left out of the statute-book,) for the well-packing in casks, salmon, herrings, eels, and other barrel-fish. These are some of the earliest statutes which regulate this branch of trade. Indeed there are statutes for the preservation of the fry of salmon, lampreys, &c. so far back as King Edward the First's reign, especially in the rivers Thames and Medway; but those related only to home-consumption.

The confusion which attended the civil war between the houses of York and Lancaster, throws an obscurity over that part of our annals, which it is almost impossible to dispel. We have scarcely any authentic monuments of the reign of Edward IV. and ought to read his history with much distrust, from the boundless partiality of the succeeding writers to the opposite cause:
that

that diffidence should increase, as we proceed to the protectorship and reign of his brother.

On the death of Edward IV. the kingdom was divided into two new factions. The queen's family, which during the last reign had come into power, was become obnoxious to the old nobility, who considered them as their inferiors. The king had endeavoured to prevent these animosities from coming to a height, by desiring on his death-bed that his brother Richard duke of Gloucester should be entrusted with the regency, and recommending peace and unanimity during the minority of his son. But the king was no sooner dead than the former resentment between these parties broke out with violence; and the Duke of Gloucester, who was endued with almost every bad quality, resolved to profit by their contentions. His first step was to get himself declared protector of the realm; and, having arrested the Earl of Rivers, the king's uncle and guardian, he met young Edward in his way from Ludlow castle, where the late king had resided during the latter part of his reign, and respectfully offered to conduct him to London. Having thus secured the person of the king, he next got possession of his brother's person also. The queen had retired with this child into Westminster-abbey; and it was not without extreme regret that she delivered him up at the intercession of the primate and Archbishop of York.

In a few days after Gloucester had made himself master of the persons of the two princes, he had them confined in the Tower, under pretence of guarding them from danger; and soon after spread reports of their illegitimacy, and by pretended obstacles put off the young king's coronation. Lord Stanley first began to suspect his designs; and communicated his suspicions to Lord Hastings, who had long been firmly attached to the king's family. Lord Hastings would not at first give credit to this surmise; but he very soon had a fatal proof of the truth of what had been com-

municated to him. On the 13th of June, 1483, he was hurried out of the council-room in the Tower by Gloucester's order, and beheaded on a log of timber. The foldiers who carried him off made a bustle as though an attempt had been made to rescue him, and one of them discharged a blow at Lord Stanley's head with a pole-axe; but he happily escaped by shrinking under the table. The same day were executed the Earl of Rivers, and some others, who had committed no other crime than being faithful to the young king.

The protector now thought he might with safety lay claim to the throne. He had previously gained over the Duke of Buckingham, a nobleman of great influence among the people. He used his utmost endeavours to inspire the people with a notion of the illegitimate birth of the late king, and consequently of his children. Dr. Shaw, a popular preacher, was also hired to harangue the people to the same purpose from St. Paul's Cross. Having expatiated on the incontinence of the queen, and the illegality of the young king's title, he then made a panegyric on the virtues of the protector. "It is the protector (continued he) who carries in his face the image of virtue, and the marks of a true descent. He alone can restore the lost glory and honour of the nation." It was hoped that upon this occasion some of the populace would have cried out, "Long live King Richard!" but, the audience remaining silent, the Duke of Buckingham undertook in his turn to persuade them. Having expatiated on the calamities of the last reign and the illegitimacy of the present race, he told the people, that he saw only one method of warding off the miseries which threatened the state, which was by electing the protector; but he seemed apprehensive that he would never be prevailed upon to accept a crown accompanied with such difficulty and danger. He next asked his auditors, whether they would have the protector for their king? but was mortified to find that a total silence ensued,

fued. The mayor, who was in the secret, willing to relieve him in this embarrassed situation, observed, that the citizens were not accustomed to be harangued by a man of his quality, and would only give an answer to their recorder. This officer, therefore, repeated the duke's speech; but, the people continuing still silent, "This is strange obstinacy (cried the duke): we only require of you, in plain terms, to declare, whether or not you will have the Duke of Gloucester for your king; as the lords and commons have sufficient power without your concurrence?" At this, some of the meanest apprentices, incited by the servants of the protector and Buckingham, raised a feeble cry of "God save King Richard!" The mob at the door repeated the cry; and, throwing up their caps into the air, cried out, "A Richard! A Richard!" After this farce was acted, Buckingham, on the 24th of June, 1483, waited on Richard with offers of the crown: but the protector, with hypocritical modesty, at first declined the offer; till being told that the people, in case of his refusal, must look out for one that would be more compliant, he accepted the government of England and France, with a resolution, as he said, to defend the one and subdue the other.

The first step taken by the new king was to send orders to Sir Robert Brackenbury, governor of the Tower, to put the young princes to death. But this he refused; and submissively answered, that he knew not how to imbrue his hands in innocent blood. A fit instrument for this purpose, however, was not long wanting. Sir James Tyrrel readily undertook the office; and Brackenbury was ordered to resign the keys to him for one night. Tyrrel choosing three associates, Slater, Deighton, and Forest, came in the night-time to the door of the chamber where the princes were lodged; and, sending in the assassins, bade them execute their commission, while he himself staid without. They found the young princes in bed, and fallen into a
sound

sleep. The assassins smothered them with the bolster and pillows; after which they shewed their naked bodies to Tyrrel, who ordered them to be buried at the stair-foot under an heap of stones.

These circumstances are said to have been confessed in the succeeding reign, though the perpetrators escaped punishment. The bodies of the two princes were sought for without any success under the reign of Henry VII. but in the time of Charles II. the bones of two persons answering to their age were found in the spot where they were said to have been buried; which being supposed to be the remains of these two unfortunate youths, they were buried under a marble monument in Westminster abbey.

Richard, having thus secured himself on the throne by the most iniquitous methods, attempted to strengthen his interest by foreign alliances, and procuring the favour of the clergy at home by great indulgences; but he found his power threatened from a quarter where he least expected an attack. The Duke of Buckingham, who had been so instrumental in raising him to the throne, did not think himself properly rewarded. He made a demand of some confiscated lands in Hereford, to which his family had an ancient claim. Richard either reluctantly complied with his request, or only granted it in part; so that a coolness soon ensued between them, and in a little time Buckingham came to a resolution of dethroning the monarch whom he had just raised. For some time he remained in doubt, whether he should assume the crown himself or set up another. At length he determined on the latter; and resolved to declare for Henry earl of Richmond, who was at that time in exile in Brittany, and was considered as the only surviving branch of the house of Lancaster. He was one of those who had the good fortune to escape the numerous massacres of the former reigns; but, as he was a descendant of John of Gaunt by the female line, he was for that reason ob-

noxious to those in power. He had long lived in exile, and was once delivered over to the ambassadors of Edward IV. who were preparing to carry him to England; when the Duke of Brittany, who delivered him, repented of what he had done, and took him from the ambassadors just as they were carrying him on ship-board. His right to the crown by succession was very doubtful: but the cruel behaviour of Richard inclined the people in general greatly to favour him; and, to give an additional strength to his title, a match was projected betwixt him and the Princess Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of Edward IV. which, by uniting the two rival families, would put an end to those dissensions which had so long filled the kingdom with bloodshed and confusion. Richard, in the mean time, from some reasons which have not been particularised by historians, began to entertain doubts of the fidelity of Buckingham, and determined to cut him off. For this purpose he sent for him to court: but Buckingham, instead of obeying the summons, fled into Wales, where he raised a considerable army, and forthwith set out to the eastward with a design to invade England. Richard hastened to meet him with what forces he could raise; but the march of Buckingham being retarded by a most uncommon inundation of the Severn which lasted ten days, his troops were so disheartened at this event, that they almost all deserted him. The duke was therefore obliged to fly in distress, and Richard instantly set a price upon his head. Buckingham was now obliged to trust his life in the hands of an old servant of his own, named Banister; but this man, tempted by the greatness of the reward, betrayed him to the sheriff of Shropshire, by whom he was seized and conducted to Richard at Salisbury, who caused him to be executed without delay. The Earl of Richmond, in the mean time, had set sail from St. Maloes with a body of five thousand men: but, after his arrival in England, receiving the disagreeable

news

news of Buckingham's misfortune, he set sail again for Bretagne; while Richard, emboldened by the bad success of his enemies, determined to confirm his title to the throne by calling a parliament, which till this time he had not ventured to do. At present, matters were so circumstanced, that the parliament had no other resource than to comply with his desires, and acknowledge his right to the crown. An act was passed confirming the illegitimacy of Edward's children; and an attainder was also confirmed against the Earl of Richmond; the duties of tonnage and poundage were granted to the king for life; and his only son Edward, then about twelve years of age, was created Prince of Wales. In return for these concessions, Richard passed several popular laws, particularly against the extorting of money by benevolences, and some others calculated to gain the good will of the opposite party. He paid his court also to the queen-dowager with such assiduity and success, that she left her sanctuary, and put herself and her daughters into his hands. The ambition and cruelty of this man indeed are said to have extinguished every sentiment of natural affection as well as humanity. He had married Anne, the second daughter of the Earl of Warwick, and widow of Edward prince of Wales, whom he himself had murdered: but, having borne him but one son, who died about this time, he considered her as an invincible obstacle to the accomplishment of his desires; for which reason it was thought he put an end to her life by poison: and, as he knew that the projected match between the Earl of Richmond and the Princess Elizabeth could only make the rivalry of the former any way formidable, he resolved to obtain a dispensation from the pope for marrying her himself. The queen-dowager is even said to have come into this scheme with a view to recover her power; but the princess herself always rejected his addresses with abhorrence. The refusal of the princess occasioned no small perplexity in Richard;

chard; and before he could determine on any proper method of accomplishing his purpose, he received news of Richmond's preparations for landing in England. These being soon accomplished, Henry set sail from Harfleur in Normandy, and landed without opposition, on the 17th of August 1485, at Milford Haven in Wales. Richard in the mean time, not knowing where the invasion was to take place, had posted himself at Nottingham; which, being almost in the centre of the kingdom, was therefore proper for resisting any invader. Sir Rice ap Thomas and Sir Walter Herbert were commissioned by Richard to oppose his rival in Wales; but the former immediately deserted to him, and the latter made but a very feeble resistance. Richard instantly resolved to meet his antagonist, and to risk every thing on the event of a battle. He therefore continued his march till he came within seven miles to the westward of Leicester, near Bosworth. Richmond, though he had not above six thousand men, and the king near double that number, did not decline the combat; being chiefly encouraged by the promises of Lord Stanley to join him with a body of seven thousand men, and with whom he hovered at a little distance from the intended field of battle, seemingly indetermined to join either side.

The king, having commanded his army to form themselves in order of battle, intrusted the van to the Duke of Norfolk, while he himself, with the crown on his head, took the command of the main body. Lord Stanley in the mean time posted himself on one flank between the two armies, while his brother Sir William took his station directly opposite. As his intention of either joining the enemy or keeping neutral during the time of the engagement was now far from being doubtful, Richard sent him orders to join the main body; which not being complied with, the tyrant gave orders to cut off the head of Lord Strange his son; but, his friends representing to him that this would certainly fix
Lord

Lord Stanley his enemy ; but that, if he spared his son, he would at least stand neuter ; he therefore countermanded his first order. Both the two armies, on which so much depended, and by which so much was decided, were very small. Richard had only ten thousand men, and the Earl of Richmond but half that number. Lord Stanley and his brother had together three thousand men, and Sir William Stanley two. The two principal armies at last came to an engagement, in the fields of Bosworth, the 22d of August, 1484. The king charged the earl so briskly, that his troops gave way, and the earl was in much danger, for Richard rode up directly to him and offered to decide the fate of the day by a single combat. But this the earl declined, suffering several of his knights to interpose between them. On which occasion, Sir William Brandon, the earl's standard-bearer was killed by the king, and Sir John Cheyney dismounted ; who was one of the strongest and bravest knights in the earl's army. And now Lord Stanley and his brother Sir William, fell upon the flanks of the royal army, which obliged the king to quit the earl to give new orders to his troops, whom the Stanley's had thrown into disorder. But what still further distressed Richard was, the Earl of Northumberland, who commanded one wing of the royal army, ordered his men to quit their arms. Richard, being now sensible that the day was lost, with a few of his men rushed impetuously amongst the thickest of his enemies, and met with the death he sought. For he chose not to survive the day in which he saw himself abandoned by so many of his subjects, otherwise he probably might, as a swift horse was brought to him to make his escape, but which he refused. On the king's side were killed the Duke of Norfolk, and about one thousand men ; but Richmond lost only an hundred, and no person of consequence, except Sir William Brandon as already mentioned.

Thus

Thus fell the last prince of the house of York, who, if we credit the historians that have written under the influence of the house of Tudor, was the most abandoned tyrant that ever waded through slaughter to a throne. If he had been a prince unstained with blood, he would have been the only one of his house, who lived to a mature age, exempt from that defilement: his enemies allow, however, that his judgment was sound and penetrating, and his courage undaunted. To heighten that detestation of this prince, which they want to raise, writers describe him as a little, crooked, withered, hump-backed, monster, who remained two years in his mother's womb, and, at last, was born with teeth, and hair on his shoulders, to intimate how careful providence was, when it formed a tyrant, to give due warning of what was to be expected. "Yet these portents," says Mr. Walpole, "were far from prognosticating a tyrant; for this plain reason, that all other tyrants have been born without these prognostics. Does it require, he asks, "more time to ripen a foetus that is to prove a destroyer than it takes to form an Aristides? Are there outward and visible signs of a bloody nature? Who was handsomer than Alexander, Augustus, or Louis XIV? and yet who ever commanded the spilling of more human blood?" The truth seems to be, that Richard, who was slender, and not tall, had the right shoulder a little higher than the left; a defect easily swelled by the magnifying glass of party, the distance of time, and the amplification of tradition, into shocking deformity. Philip de Comines, who was very free spoken, even to his own masters, and therefore not likely to spare a foreigner, mentions the beauty of Edward IV. but says nothing of the deformity of Richard, though he saw them together; and farther, the old Countess of Desmonde, who had danced with Richard, declared, he was the handsomest man in the room except his brother Edward, and was very well made; and John Rous, the antiquary of
Warwick.

Warwickshire, who saw Richard at Warwick, describing his person, mentions no other defect than the inequality of his shoulders : and, indeed the vigour and activity with which he exerted himself in battle are an evident proof of his being possessed of that bodily strength which is never enjoyed by persons much deformed.

Richard was thirty-two years of age when he died ; and had reigned two years and two months. His crown was found on the field of battle, and immediately placed on the head of the conqueror ; the whole army crying out, Long live King Henry. His death terminated the race of the Plantagenet kings, after they had been in possession of the crown three hundred and thirty-one years. Thus ended also the contest between the two roses, which had not only depopulated the country, but had introduced a savage cruelty of manners. England, during this wretched period, presented a wide scene of slaughter and desolation.

In these long contentions between the houses of York and Lancaster, the commons of England remained spectators of disorders, which, in those times, it was not in their power to prevent : they successively acknowledged the title of the victorious parties ; but, under Edward IV. as well as Richard III. and under Henry VII. who terminated these quarrels, the commons continually availed themselves of the important services which they were able to perform to the reigning sovereign, by obtaining essential advantages for the whole body of the people. Still, however, that system of legislation, which the various conflicting interests of the several parts of the state, in after-times, served to adjust and establish, had received only its first rude outline. The attributes of liberty were neither rightly defined, nor clearly understood ; and the world might have grown old, generations might have succeeded generations, still seeking them in vain. It has been by a
fortunate

fortunate conjunction of circumstances, and it should be added, by the assistance of a favourable situation, that liberty has, in the last and present century, been able to erect herself a temple.

Invoked by every nation, but of too delicate a nature, as it should seem, to subsist in societies formed of such imperfect beings as mankind, she shewed, and but just shewed, herself, to the ingenious nations of antiquity that inhabited the south of Europe. They were constantly mistaken in the form of the worship they paid to her. As they continually aimed at extending dominion and conquest over other nations, they were no less mistaken in the spirit of that worship; and though they continued, for ages, to pay their devotions to her, she still remained, with regard to them, the unknown goddess.

Excluded, since that time, from those places to which she had seemed to give a preference, driven to the extremity of the western world, banished even out of the continent, she has taken refuge in the British Isles. It is there, that, freed from the danger of external disturbance, and assisted by a happy pre-arrangement of things, she has been able fully to display the form that suited her; and she has found six centuries to have been necessary to the completion of her work.

Being sheltered, as it were, within a citadel, she there reigns over a nation which is the better entitled to her favours, as it endeavours to extend her empire, and carries with it, to every part of its dominions, the blessings of industry and equality. Fenced in on every side with a wide and deep ditch, the sea; guarded with strong outworks, its ships of war; and defended by the courage of its seamen; it preserves that important secret, that sacred fire which is so difficult to be kindled; and which, if it were once extinguished, would perhaps never be lighted again. When the world shall have again been laid waste by conquerors, it will still continue to shew mankind, not only the principle

that ought to unite them, but what is of no less importance, the form under which they ought to be united. And the philosopher, when he reflects on what is constantly the fate of civil societies amongst men, and observes, with concern, the numerous and powerful causes which seem, as it were, unavoidably to conduct them all to a state of incurable political slavery, takes comfort in seeing that liberty has, at last, disclosed her secret to mankind, and secured an asylum to herself.

OF THE WARS OF ENGLAND UNDER THE HOUSE
OF TUDOR.

HENRY VII. was crowned King of England on the 30th of October 1485; and, to heighten the splendour on that occasion, he bestowed the rank of knights-banneret on twelve persons, and conferred peerages on three. Jasper earl of Pembroke, his uncle, he created Duke of Bedford; Thomas lord Stanley, his father-in-law, Earl of Derby; and Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire. At the coronation likewise appeared a new institution, which the king had established for personal security as well as pomp; a band of fifty archers, who were denominated Yeomen of the Guard. But lest the people should take umbrage at this step, as if it implied a diffidence of his subjects, he declared the institution to be perpetual. The ceremony of the coronation was performed by Cardinal Bouchier archbishop of Canterbury.--- On the 18th of January 1486, he was married to the Princess Elizabeth; and his marriage was celebrated at London with greater appearance of joy than either his first entry or his coronation had been. Henry remarked with much displeasure this general favour borne to the house of York; and the suspicions arising from it not only disturbed his tranquillity during the

whole of his reign, but bred disgust towards his consort herself, and poisoned all his domestic enjoyments.

The reign of Henry VII. was for several years disturbed by plots and insurrections. The people, by a long course of civil war, had become so turbulent and factious, that no governor should rule, nor could any king please, them. The violent animosity expressed by this monarch, however, against the house of York, may justly be considered as one of the causes of the extreme proneness to rebellion manifested by his subjects. Instead of endeavouring to conciliate the affections of the opposite party, he always strove to quell them by absolute force and violence. For this purpose he took a journey, soon after his accession, to the north of England, where the Yorkists were very numerous; hoping to get the better of them by his presence. In his journey thither, he received intelligence of an insurrection against him by Viscount Lovel, with Sir Henry Stafford, and Thomas his brother, who had raised an army, and were marching to besiege the city of Worcester, while Lovel approached to assist them with a body of three or four thousand men. They were dispersed, however, by the offer of a general pardon; which induced Lovel to withdraw from his troops, who were thereupon obliged to submit to the king's mercy. The Stafford's took sanctuary in the church of Colnham near Abingdon; but, as it was found that this church had not the privilege of protecting rebels, they were taken from thence: the elder was executed at Tyburn; but the younger, pleading that he had been misled by his brother, received a pardon.

This success was soon after followed by the birth of a prince; whom Henry named in honour of the celebrated King Arthur, who is said to have been the direct ancestor of the house of Tudor. All this success, however, as well as the general satisfaction which the birth of a prince descended from the houses both of York and Lancaster necessarily occasioned, were not sufficient

sufficient to reconcile the hearts of the English to their sovereign. His extreme severity towards the house of York still continued; and unfortunately this was much more beloved by the generality of the nation than that of Lancaster. Many of the Yorkists had been treated with great cruelty, and deprived of their fortunes under pretence of treason; a general resumption had likewise been made of the grants made by the princes of the house of York. It was likewise universally believed that the queen herself met with harsh treatment, on account of her being one of that unfortunate house; and, from all these circumstances, it was not unreasonably imagined that his enmity was inveterate and invincible. Hence, notwithstanding his politic and vigorous administration, people made no scruple of openly expressing their disapprobation of his conduct and government; and one rebellion seemed to be extinguished only to give birth to another. The king had, at the commencement of his reign, confined the Duke of Clarence's son, as has already been mentioned. This unfortunate youth, who had obtained the title of the Earl of Warwick, was, through long confinement, entirely unacquainted with the affairs of the world. Simple as he was, however, he was now made use of to disturb the public tranquillity. The queen-dowager was with great reason suspected to be at the bottom of this conspiracy; but, not choosing to interfere openly in the matter herself, she employed one Simon a priest of Oxford to execute her purposes. This man cast his eyes upon one Lambert Simnel, a baker's son in the same place, a youth of only fifteen years of age; but who, from his graceful appearance and accomplishments, seemed proper for personating a man of quality. A report had been spread among the people, that Richard duke of York, second son of Edward IV. had secretly made his escape from the cruelty of his uncle, and lay somewhere concealed in England. Simon had at first instructed his pupil to

assume that name, which he found to be much the object of public affection; but, hearing afterwards a new report, that Warwick had escaped from the Tower, and observing that this news was attended with no less general satisfaction, he changed the plan of his imposture, and made Simnel personate that unfortunate prince. The pliant youth was therefore directed by his instructor to talk upon many occurrences, as happening to him in the court of Edward. But, as the imposture was not calculated to bear a close examination, he was removed to Ireland; and so well had he profited by the lessons given him, that he no sooner presented himself to the Earl of Kildare the deputy, claiming his protection as the unfortunate Earl of Warwick, than he began to consult with several other noblemen with regard to him. These expressed even a stronger belief in Simnel's story than the deputy himself had done; and in proportion as the story was spread abroad, the more credit it obtained. The impostor was lodged in the castle of Dublin; the inhabitants universally took an oath of allegiance to him, as the true descendant of the Plantagenets; he was crowned with a diadem taken from the statue of the blessed virgin, and proclaimed king by the title of Edward VI. and the whole kingdom followed the example of the capital.

Such an unexpected event alarmed Henry so much, that he would have gone over to Ireland on purpose to quell the rebellion in person, had he not been afraid of the machinations of the queen-dowager in his absence. To prevent any thing of this kind, it was resolved to confine her for life in a monastery; under pretence, however, that it was done on the account of her having formerly delivered up the princess her daughter to King Richard. The queen murmured against the severity of her treatment; but the king persisted in his resolution, and she remained in confinement till the time of her death, which happened some years after.

The

The next measure was to shew Warwick to the people. He was taken from the Tower, and led through the principal streets of London; after which he was conducted in solemn procession to St. Paul's, where great numbers were assembled to see him. Still, however, they proceeded in Dublin to honour their pretended monarch; and he was crowned with great solemnity in the presence of the Earl of Kildare, the chancellor, and the other officers of state. At last, being furnished by the Dukes of Burgundy with a body of two thousand veteran Germans under the command of Martin Swart, a brave and experienced officer, he resolved to invade England. He landed in Lancashire, from whence he marched to York, expecting that the country people would rise and join him on his march. But in this he was deceived: the people were unwilling to join a body of foreigners; and were besides kept in awe by the great reputation of Henry. Lord Lincoln, therefore, who commanded the rebel army, determined to bring the matter to a speedy issue. Accordingly he met the royal army at Stoke in the county of Nottingham, on the 6th of June, 1487. He first sent a detachment to take possession of Newark, to secure a passage over the Trent; but Henry having encamped between him and Newark, prevented his design taking place. The earl, finding the king's forces doubled his, drew up his army on a spot where he could not be surrounded; which was so narrow, that the king could not extend his front beyond that of the rebels. Henry, however, in the situation he was in, drew up his army in three lines, and, confiding in the superiority of his number, attacked the earl. An obstinate engagement ensued, but at length King Henry obtained a complete victory. Lord Lincoln, with four thousand private men, perished in the battle; and Simnel with his tutor Simon were taken prisoners. Simon, being a priest, could not be tried by the civil power, and was only committed to close confine-

confinement. Simnel was pardoned, and made a scullion in the king's kitchen, whence he was afterwards advanced to the rank of falconer, in which employment he died.

Henry, being now freed from all danger from that quarter, determined to take ample vengeance on his enemies. For this purpose he took a journey into the north; but, though he found many delinquents, his natural avarice prompted him to exact heavy fines from them rather than to put them to death. His proceedings, however, were extremely arbitrary; the criminals being tried, not by the ordinary judges, but either by commissioners appointed for the occasion, or suffering punishment by sentence of a court-martial. Having thus fully established his authority as far as it could be done by suppressing and punishing domestic enemies, he next determined to recommend himself to his subjects by a report of his military disposition; hoping, that by undertaking, or pretending to undertake, some martial enterprises, he would thus gain the favour of a people naturally turbulent, and unaccustomed to live long at peace with their neighbours. He certainly had not, however, the least intention of prosecuting foreign conquests; though, to please the people, he frequently gave out that he designed to invade France, and lay waste the whole country, rather than not recover his continental possessions. Under these pretences, particularly that of assisting the Bretons whom the King of France had lately subdued, and who had applied to him for relief, he persuaded his parliament to grant him a considerable supply; but this involved him in some difficulties. The counties of Durham and York, who had always been discontented with Henry's government, and still farther provoked by the oppression under which they had laboured after the extinction of Simnel's rebellion, opposed the commissioners sent by the king to levy the tax. The latter applied to the Earl of Northumberland, requesting his advice and assistance

assistance in the execution of their office; but instead of being able to enforce the levying of the tax, he himself was attacked and put to death by the insurgents. This act of violence, committed by themselves, seemed to render the insurgents desperate; so that without more ado they prepared to resist the royal power, under the conduct of one Sir John Egremond; but in this ill-conducted and precipitate scheme they met with no success. Henry instantly levied a considerable force, which he committed to the charge of the Earl of Surrey; by whom the rebels were quickly defeated, and one of their leaders taken prisoner. Sir John Egremond fled to the Duchess of Burgundy, who afforded him protection.

Thus Henry obtained the subsidy which he had solicited under pretence of invading France. He would willingly have avoided any expence in preparations for that purpose, in order to keep the money in his possession; but as the Bretons had applied to him for assistance, and their distresses became every day more urgent, he found himself obliged to attempt something. With this view he set sail for Calais with an army of twenty-five thousand foot and one thousand six hundred horse, of which he gave the command to the Duke of Bedford and the Earl of Oxford: but, notwithstanding this apparent hostile disposition, negotiations for peace had been secretly begun, and commissioners even appointed to consider of the terms, three months before King Henry set out for the continent. As the love of money was the prevailing passion of the English monarch, and the possession of Bretagne was a great object to France, an accommodation soon took place betwixt the contending parties. The King of France engaged to pay Henry near two hundred thousand pounds, as a reimbursement for the expences of his expedition, and stipulated at the same time to pay him and his heirs an annual pension of twenty-five thousand crowns more.

Thus the authority of Henry seemed to be so firmly established, as to leave no reason to dread any rival in time to come; but still he found himself mistaken. The Duchess of Burgundy, resenting the depression of her family, and exasperated by her frequent miscarriages in the attempts already made, resolved to make a final effort against Henry, whom she greatly hated. For this purpose she propagated a report that her nephew Richard Plantagenet, duke of York, had escaped from the Tower where his elder brother was murdered, and that he still lay somewhere concealed. Finding this report eagerly received, she soon found a young man who assumed both his name and character. The person chosen to act this part was the son of one Osbeck, or Warbeck, a converted Jew, who had been in England during the reign of Edward IV. His name was Peter; but it had been corrupted after the Flemish manner into Peterkin, or Perkin. It was by some believed, that Edward, among his other amorous adventures, had a secret correspondence with Warbeck's wife, which might account for the great similarity of features between Perkin and that monarch. The Duchess of Burgundy found this youth entirely suited to her purposes. The lessons she gave him were easily learned and strongly retained. His graceful air, his courtly address, his easy manners, and elegant conversation, were capable of imposing upon all but those who were privy to the imposture. The kingdom of Ireland was pitched upon for Perkin's first appearance, as it had been before for that of Simnel. He landed at Cork; and, immediately assuming the name of Richard Plantagenet, was followed by great numbers of credulous people. He wrote letters to the Earls of Desmond and Kildare, inviting them to join his party; he dispersed every where the strange intelligence of his escape from his uncle Richard's cruelty; and, his story meeting with general credit, he soon became an object of the public favour. All those who were disgusted
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with the king, prepared to join Perkin; but particularly those who were formerly Henry's favourites, and had contributed to place him on the throne. These, thinking their services had not been sufficiently repaid, now became heads of the conspiracy. Lord Fitz-Walter, Sir Simon Montfort, and Sir Thomas Thwaites, favoured Duke Richard's title; but none engaged openly in his support but Sir Robert Clifford, and Sir William Barley, who went over to Flanders, and were introduced by the Duchess of Burgundy to the acquaintance of the young prince, to whom they made a tender of their services. Clifford wrote back to England, that he knew the person of the young Duke of York, as well as he knew his own, and that the young man was undoubtedly Richard, Duke of York. Such positive intelligence, from a person of rank and character, was sufficient to put the affair beyond all doubt, and excited the wonder and attention of the most indifferent. The whole nation was held in suspense; a regular conspiracy was formed against the king, and a correspondence established between the malcontents in England and those in Flanders.

Henry was no sooner informed of these particulars, but he proceeded in counter-working the projects of his enemies. He now first published the account of the murder of the two princes in the Tower, assigning a time for it, when it was natural for him to hope that the people would think it likely to have happened. Indeed, as Mr. Walpole observes, it is remarkable, that no enquiry had been made into the murder on Henry the Seventh's accession, the natural time for it, when the passions of men were heated, and the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Lovell, Catesby, Ratcliffe, and Richard's real abettors, or accomplices, were attainted and executed; neither was any mention made, in the act of parliament that attainted Richard himself, and no prosecution of the supposed assassins was set on foot till now; nor did Henry ever interest himself to prove

that both were dead, till he had great reason to believe that one of them was alive. It was said, that there were but four persons who could speak, from knowledge, of these murders. Sir James Tirrell, Dighton, and Forest, with the priest of the Tower, who removed their bodies from under the stairs, where they had been buried, to a place unknown. The two last were dead, and the two first being examined, are said to have avowed the fact; though Dighton, one of the assassins, was suffered to go unpunished wherever he pleased; and Sir James Tirrell, who had enjoyed Henry's favour, was suffered to live, but was shut up in the Tower. Upon which Mr. Walpole asks, "What can we believe, but that Dighton was some low mercenary wretch, hired to assume the guilt of a crime he had not committed; and that Sir James Tirrell never would confess what he had not done, and was therefore put out of the way on a fictitious imputation?"

Whilst the friends of the house of York were thus combining against the king, he himself was no less intent on preventing the impending danger. He not only endeavoured to convince the people that the Duke of York was really dead, but caused the history of this claimant to be published, whom he pretended to have traced to his original meanness; describing him as the son of a Jew, and whose real name was Perkin Warbeck.

At the same time this youth made an attempt to land in Kent, but, being beat off by the inhabitants, he proceeded to Ireland: finding his hopes frustrated there also, he went next to try his success in Scotland. Here his fortune began to mend; James III. who was then king of that country, received him very favourably, acknowledged his pretensions to be just, and soon after gave him in marriage a daughter of the Earl of Huntley, one of the most beautiful and accomplished ladies of her time. Nor did he stop at these instances
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of favour, but resolved upon assisting him in his attempts to mount the throne of England. It was expected, that, upon Warbeck's first appearance in that kingdom, all the friends of the house of York would rise in his favour: on this presumption the King of Scotland entered the country with a strong army, and proclaimed the young adventurer king; but, contrary to his expectations, the people were disinclined to resort to his standard; so that he was obliged to retire back to Edinburgh. Soon after a treaty of peace was concluded between Henry VII. and James III. by which it was stipulated, that the latter should renounce the interests of Warbeck: on which he was obliged to quit Scotland, and seek another asylum.

Warbeck had now, for the space of five years, continued to alarm Henry. He had been acknowledged in France and Flanders, partially in Ireland, and more generally in Scotland, as the legal inheritor of the English crown; but, being now forced to retire from the latter country, he secreted himself in the wilds and fastnesses of Ireland; soon, however, a circumstance occurred, which proved favourable for bringing him again forward into action.

Under pretence of raising an army to oppose the inroads of the King of Scotland, Henry had procured from his parliament a subsidy of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds: when this money came to be levied upon the people, the inhabitants of Cornwall, numerous, poor, robust, and courageous, loudly complained at contributing to repel an enemy, from whom, by their remote situation, they had nothing to fear. Every insurrection now was followed by a project for dethroning the king: they therefore marched with one Flammoek, a lawyer, Bodeley, a carrier, and Lord Audley, at their head, directly to London, and encamped upon Blackheath. There the king's forces surrounded and attacked them, anno 1497. The battle was bloody; two thousand were killed on the

spot, and almost all the rest of the insurgents were made prisoners. The three ringleaders of this insurrection were executed, but the other prisoners were dismissed without further punishment. The mutinous disposition, in the western counties, was not extinguished by this defeat. It was now determined by the malcontents, to send for Perkin Warbeck from Ireland, to be their leader. Arriving soon after, he found himself at the head of a body of three thousand men, on which he published a proclamation against Henry, and assumed the title of Richard IV. He then attempted to take the city of Exeter by storm, but was repulsed. Hearing of the king's approach towards the city, he desisted from his designs against it and retired. It was then that his firmness forsook him; and, abandoning the enterprize, though his followers now amounted to seven thousand men, he took sanctuary in the monastery of Beaulieu, in the New Forest. His wife fell into the conqueror's hands; who placed her in a respectable situation near the queen's person, with a suitable pension, which she enjoyed till her death. Soon after, upon a promise of a pardon, he surrendered himself to the king, and was confined in the Tower; but, escaping from thence, and finding it impracticable to get out of the kingdom, he again took sanctuary at Shyne: the prior of that monastery gave him up to the king, upon condition of a pardon, and Warbeck was, a second time, committed a prisoner to the Tower; but, still restless and enterprising, he engaged the Earl of Warwick, his fellow-prisoner, to enter into a project for their escape, by the murder of the lieutenant of the Tower. The vigilance of the king soon discovered this: it was even very generally believed, that the scheme had been laid by himself, in order to draw Warwick and Perkin into the snare; but this suspicion was founded, indeed, more on the general idea entertained of the king's character, than on any positive proof. Perkin, for
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this offence, was arraigned, condemned, and soon after hanged at Tyburn; whilst the inoffensive Earl of Warwick was brought to a trial, and accused of forming designs against the government, for which he was condemned and executed in 1499.

To Henry VII. in a great measure is owing the present civilized state of the English nation. He had all along two points principally in view; the one to depress the nobility and clergy, and the other to exalt and humanize the populace. In the feudal times every nobleman was possessed of a certain number of vassals, over whom he had, by various methods, acquired an almost absolute power; and, therefore, upon every slight disgust, he was able to influence them to join him in his revolt or disobedience. Henry considered, that the giving his barons a power to sell their estates, which were before unalienable, must greatly weaken their interest. This liberty therefore he gave them; and it proved highly pleasing to the commons, nor was it disagreeable to the nobles themselves. His next scheme was to prevent their giving liveries to many hundreds of their dependents, who were thus kept like the soldiers of a standing army to be ready at the command of their lord. By an act passed in this reign, none but menial servants were allowed to wear a livery; and this law was enforced under severe penalties.

We are told by Lord Bacon, that the Earl of Oxford, the king's favourite general, in whom he always placed great and deserved confidence, having splendidly entertained his royal master at his castle of Henningham, was desirous of making a parade of his magnificence, at the departure of his royal guest; and ordered all his retainers, with their liveries and badges, to be drawn up in two lines, that their appearance might be the more gallant and splendid. "My lord," said the king on seeing them, "I have heard much of your hospitality; but the truth far exceeds the report.

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These handsome gentlemen and yeomen, whom I see on both sides of me, are, no doubt, your menial servants." The earl smiled, and confessed that his fortune was too narrow for such magnificence. "They are most of them (subjoined he) my retainers, who are come to do me service at this time, when they know I am honoured with your majesty's presence." The king started a little, and said, "By my faith, my lord, I thank you for your good cheer, but I must not allow my laws to be broken in my sight. My attorney-general must speak to you." The earl is said to have paid no less than fifteen thousand marks, as a composition for this offence.---If this king had not made it apparent, that avarice and rapacity ever influenced his conduct, such an instance of enforcing the laws against his favourite, might have been considered as dictated by impartiality, and a rigid adherence to justice.

In humbling the clergy, Henry was not so successful. The number of criminals of all kinds who found protection in monasteries and other places appointed for religious worship, seemed to indicate a little less than absolute toleration of all kinds of vice. Henry used all his interest with the pope to get these sanctuaries abolished, but to no purpose. All that he could procure was, that if the thieves, murderers, or robbers, registered as sanctuary-men, should fall out and commit fresh offences, and retreat again, in such cases they might be taken out of the sanctuary and delivered up to justice.

In 1500, the king's eldest son Arthur was married to the Infanta Catherine of Spain, which marriage had been projected and negociated seven years. But the prince dying in a few months after marriage, the princess was obliged to marry his younger brother Henry, who was created Prince of Wales in his room. Henry himself made all the opposition which a youth of twelve years of age is capable of; but, as the king persisted in his resolution, the marriage was by the
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pope's dispensation shortly after solemnized. This match was succeeded by the contract of another marriage, between the King of Scotland and Henry's daughter Margaret, on whom her father bestowed a portion of 100,000 crowns. The marriage treaty was ratified by the Scottish ambassadors at London, on the 24th day of January, A. D. 1502; and the nuptials were solemnized by proxy, amidst the rejoicings of the people; who hoped the mischief attending the mutual enmity of the two kingdoms would cease, by virtue of this alliance, though perhaps they did not foresee the union which it afterwards produced. When this affair was debated in council, an English nobleman observed, that, if Henry should survive his male issue, the crown would devolve to the king of Scotland: to which Henry replied, that in such a case Scotland would become an accession to England, as the smaller would always be swallowed up in the greater dominion.

In 1506, Philip of Austria, who succeeded to the kingdom of Castile, on the death of Queen Isabella, returning from the Low Countries, with his queen, to Spain, on the conclusion of a successful war in Holland, was driven, by a violent storm, into the harbour of Weymouth, in Dorsetshire. As soon as Henry had notice of the accident which had befallen this prince, he determined to turn it to his own advantage. He received Philip with the utmost magnificence, and with every mark of friendship and respect; but, while he kept him and his consort thus entertained with a round of pageantry and amusements, he concluded a treaty of commerce, the benefits of which are to this day experienced.

In the latter part of this king's reign, his economy, which had always been exact, degenerated into avarice, and he oppressed the people in a very arbitrary manner. He had two ministers, Empson and Dudley, perfectly qualified to second his avaricious intentions. They were both lawyers, and usually committed to
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prison

prison by indictment such persons as they intended to oppress; from whence they seldom got free but by paying heavy fines, which were called mitigations and compositions: but by degrees the very forms of law were omitted; and they determined in a summary way upon the properties of the subjects, and confiscated their effects to the royal treasury.

We may observe, however, to the praise of Henry VII. that sometimes, in order to promote commerce, he lent to merchants sums of money without interest, when he knew that their stock was not sufficient for those enterprizes which they had in view. And in some things it must be allowed, that he shewed a magnificent spirit; particularly in building that noble chapel in Westminster-abbey, which bears his name, and which cost him fourteen thousand pounds.---Henry VII. died of the gout in his stomach, in the year 1509, having lived fifty-two years, and reigned twenty-three; and was succeeded by his son Henry VIII. In Henry VII.'s reign was built a large ship of war, called the Great Harry, which cost fourteen thousand pounds. This was, properly speaking, the first ship in the English navy. Before this period, when the king wanted a fleet, he had no other expedient than to hire ships from the merchants. Henry VII. seems to have been the first king who thought of avoiding this inconvenience, by raising such a naval force as might be, at all times, the security as well as glory of the kingdom. About fifty years after building this ship, it was accidentally set on fire at Woolwich, and consumed to the water-edge.

He was allowed, by his cotemporaries, to have been one of the most politic princes of the age in which he lived; and his history has been transmitted to posterity by the masterly pen of the great Lord Chancellor Bacon, who, in doing justice to this king's talents for government, has shewn his own abilities; and, by freely censuring the faults that stained his character, he
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has set a noble example to English historians, to be more solicitous about truth, than the reputation of themselves, as writers, or the glory of those whose actions they record. An example which each succeeding age increases the difficulty of following; since, as corruption encreases, it not only enervates the will, but also warps the understanding. So rigid was the frugality, and so boundless the extortion, of this prince, that the treasures, discovered at his death within his coffers, by far surpassed those which were accumulated by any former monarch. One writer hath informed us, that they amounted to five millions and three hundred thousand pounds, mostly in foreign coin. But Lord Verulam makes mention only of eighteen hundred thousand pounds, which the king had concealed in private corners, under his own lock and key, at the palace of Richmond, where he died. Even this sum appears incredible, if we reflect on the great scarcity of money during that period.

Henry VII. was a prince admirably suited to the times in which he lived: though possessing none of those qualities of the heart which engage the love of mankind; yet, by an indefatigable assiduity to business, and an unremitting attention to his own interest, he gradually weakened that spirit of tumult and revolt, which prevailed throughout the nation. By a steady adherence to principles of sound policy, he humbled an insolent and factious nobility; and increased the power and consequence of the people, because they were the best support of his throne. Science now began to dawn, after the world had been involved in a long night of ignorance. The art of printing was now introduced; and the peaceful arts found admirers among a people, who, till then, had relished nothing but feats of arms. The history of England hitherto, is little else than a relation of the transactions of a barbarous nation, obeying with reluctance,

luctance, and governed by caprice: from this period, a more refined system of politics was adopted; human wisdom, as if roused from her lethargy of thirteen hundred years, began to practise every art to tame the natural ferocity of the people, and to introduce happiness.

It was the policy of Henry to divert the spirit of his subjects from war to trade, which his long residence in Bretagne had shewn him the benefits of, and given him an insight into. At this time Christopher Columbus, a man of obscure birth, whose knowledge of astronomy and navigation was far superior to that of his cotemporaries, was led, by a secret impulse, to imagine, that another continent certainly existed, and that he was the person destined to discover it. The idea of antipodes, which superstition had condemned as heretical and impious, and reason itself had treated as chimerical, appeared, to this penetrating genius, to have its foundation in truth. This idea, perhaps the greatest that ever entered into the human mind, took strong possession of his imagination; and having, in vain, proposed the acquisition of a new hemisphere to his native country, Genoa, and to Portugal, where he then resided, he sent his brother Bartholomew into England, to propose this stupendous enterprize to Henry VII. whilst he himself passed over into Spain, to sound the disposition of that court upon the same business. Bartholomew Columbus, in his voyage from Lisbon to England, was taken by pirates, who for some time retained him in their service, making him undergo the most cruel hardships. From these he found means to escape, but destitute of the common necessities of life. Arriving in England, he proceeded to London; but in so poor a condition, and his health so much impaired, that he wanted both opportunity and spirit to prosecute the business of his voyage. To subsist himself in a strange country, he set about constructing maps and globes; and, in this employment,

employment, discovering very uncommon skill in cosmography, he recommended himself to the few scientific men, which that age produced. When he had been three years in England, he had become so celebrated for his abilities, that he found means to be introduced to the king; to whom he presented a map of the world, of his own projecting; and afterwards entered into a negotiation in behalf of his brother. Henry is said to have relished the scheme, and to have actually agreed about attempting the discovery, before Christopher Columbus had brought things to bear in Spain; but Bartholomew, meeting with fresh impediments in his return to his brother, was prevented from carrying him an account of his success, before he was actually failing, under the patronage of the crown of Spain, upon this important enterprize.---Such was the narrow escape, which this country had of being ruined, by the mines of Potosi! "The Spaniards," says the president Montesquieu, "after the conquest of Mexico and Peru, abandoned their natural riches, in pursuit of a representative wealth, which daily degraded itself. Before this discovery, gold and silver were extremely scarce in Europe; and Spain becoming, all of a sudden, mistress of a prodigious quantity of these metals, conceived hopes to which she had never before aspired. The wealth she found possessed by the inhabitants of the conquered countries, great as it was, did not, however, equal that of the mines there. The Indians concealed part of it; and, as these people made no other use of gold and silver, than to give magnificence to the temples of their gods, and to the palaces of their kings, they sought not for it with an European avarice. In short, they had not the secret of drawing these metals from every mine, but only from those where the separation might be made with fire: they were strangers to the manner of making use of mercury, and perhaps to mercury itself. However, it was not long before the specie of Europe

was doubled: this appeared from the price of commodities, which every where was doubled. The Spaniards raked into the mines, scooped out mountains, invented machines to draw out water, to break the ore, and separate it; and as they sported with the lives of the Indians, they forced them to labour without mercy. In proportion as the specie of Europe increased the profit of Spain diminished: they had every year a quantity of metal, which gradually became less precious."

When we contemplate the new world, which, by the skill and indefatigable labours of this great man, was thus revealed to the inhabitants of Europe, the first circumstance that strikes us is, its immense extent. It was not a small portion of the earth, so inconsiderable, that it might have escaped the observation or research of former ages, which Columbus discovered: he made known a new hemisphere, of greater extent than either Europe, Asia, or Africa, the three noted divisions of the ancient continent; and not much inferior to a third part of the habitable globe.

Though Henry's reign was continually troubled with internal commotions, these did not, however, prevent the king directing his attention to the discovery of unknown countries, which views had been first excited by the lights which had been thrown upon the subject by Bartholomew Columbus. A Venetian, named John Cabot, who resided at Bristol, an experienced seaman, encouraged by the success of Columbus, in discovering the island of Hispaniola, addressed himself to the king, with proposals for attempting like discoveries. His offer was readily accepted; and, in the year 1496, the king granted him letters-patent, by the name of John Cabot, citizen of Venice; and to his three sons, Lewis, Sebastian, and Sanctius, authorizing them to discover unknown lands, and to conquer and settle them; with many privileges, and under this single restriction, that the ships they fitted
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out should be obliged to return to the port of Bristol. In consequence of this licence, the king caused a ship to be fitted out at Bristol; to which were added, three or four small vessels, freighted with proper commodities; which fleet sailed in the spring of the year 1497. The principal object with Cabot was, to find a north-west passage to the East-Indies: so that he appears to have reasoned in the same manner that Columbus did, who imagined, that as the Portuguese, by sailing east, came to the western coast of the Indies, so he, by sailing west, might reach its opposite shore.

John Cabot, having with him his son Sebastian, prosecuted a north-west course till the 24th of June, when, about five in the morning, they first discovered land; which Cabot, on that account, called *Prima Vista*, or First Seen. Another island, less than the first, he styled the Island of St. John, because it was seen on the feast of St. John Baptist. He afterwards sailed down to Cape Florida, and the Labradore coast; and then returned to England, bringing with him three of the natives, but without making any settlement there. This was a very important discovery, since, in truth, it was the first time the continent of America had been seen, Columbus being unacquainted therewith till his last voyage, which was made the year after, when he coasted along a part of the isthmus of Darien. Fabian, in his chronicle, speaks expressly of this expedition, and of the natives that were brought to England, specifying the time when the discovery was made, and by John Cabot, a Venetian. Notwithstanding, other writers, among which are Speed and Stowe, ascribe this discovery wholly to Sebastian, the son. But a clear and decisive testimony, in favour of John Cabot, is, that Sebastian, who was alive in 1555, could not, at the time of this voyage, have been above twenty years old; and it cannot be supposed, that so arduous an enterprize should be entrusted to one so young.

Four years after this voyage had been performed, Henry granted his letters-patent to Hugh Elliot, and Thomas Afhhurst, merchants of Bristol, and others, for settling colonies in new-discovered countries, which grant bears date ninth December, 1502. It was presumed, from the several voyages made after this, with a view of examining what advantages might be derived from these new territories, that they were fit for nothing but to carry on the fishery for cod, which abounds in that sea. Accordingly, small vessels used to be sent out in the spring, which returned again in autumn, with their freight of fish, both salted and fresh. The consumption of this article became almost universal; at length an idea was formed of making settlements there. Those that were at first established, were at considerable distances of time from each other, and were so unsuccessful, as to be forsaken soon after they were formed. It was not till the year 1608, that any permanent settlement was made: this grew into importance, and raised such a spirit of emulation, that within forty years, all the space that extends along the eastern coast, between Conception-Bay and Cape Ras, on the island of Newfoundland, was peopled by a colony, amounting to above four thousand souls. Those who were concerned in the fishery being forced, both from the nature of their employment, and that of the soil, to live at a distance from each other, opened paths of communication through the woods. Their general rendezvous was at St. John's, where is an excellent harbour formed between two mountains, at a very small distance from each other, and large enough to contain above two hundred ships. Private traders from the mother-country supply these colonists with every necessary, in exchange for the produce of their fishery. Thus did Henry VII. lay the first foundation of those colonies, which, in process of time, raised England to an unparalleled pre-eminence, by promoting industry, manufactures, shipping, and population.

Hakluyt

Hakluyt asserts, that not only the principal Spanish writers, and the learned Venetian John Baptista Ramusio, but also the French geographers, agree in acknowledging, that all the mighty track of land from sixty-seven degrees northward, to the latitude of Florida, was first discovered by England.

About this time an act of parliament passed to regulate the fine taken by the company of Merchant-adventurers of England: the first institution of which community was under the title of fraternity of Sir Thomas Becket. This body of men had demanded, in more early times, six shillings and eight-pence of every private merchant, trading in foreign parts; but, in course of years, this fine was increased to the sum of forty pounds sterling; but, by the above-named statute, this company were restrained from demanding more than six pounds thirteen shillings and four-pence. It appears also by this act, that the English merchants at that time carried on trade with Ireland, Normandy, France, Seville, Dantzick, Eastland, Friesland, Spain, Portugal, Bretagne, and Venice; as well as to Flanders, Holland, Zealand, and Brabant.

During the reign of Henry VII. the Portuguese were prosecuting discoveries with infinite perseverance; under the auspices of John II. Encouraged by the patronage of this intelligent prince, a new method was invented of applying astronomy to navigation. The Cape, which terminates Africa to the south, was doubled by some adventurous Portuguese, who named it the Cape of Storms; but the king, entertaining a full assurance that it would give access to the East-Indies by sea, which was then only known to Europe by a tedious, dangerous, and expensive, intercourse over land, called it the Cape of Good-Hope. John II. was succeeded by Emanuel, a prince equally disposed and qualified to give effect to the prevailing spirit of the times. In the year 1497, he sent out four ships, under the command of Vasco de Gama, who, after

after doubling the Cape of Good-Hope, was, for a long time, tossed by successive tempests, whilst he proceeded along the eastern coast of Africa; a sea, till then, unploughed by Europeans. At length, after a tedious voyage of thirteen months, he entered the Bay of Bengal, and landed on the rich and extensive kingdom of Hindostan. “No event,” says a celebrated writer, “has been so interesting to mankind in general, and to the inhabitants of Europe in particular, as the discovery of the New World, and the passage to India by the Cape of Good-Hope, which took place almost at the same time. It gave rise to a revolution in the commerce and in the power of nations; and in the manners, industry, and government, of the whole world. At this period, new connections were formed by the inhabitants of the most distant regions, for the supply of wants they had never before experienced. The productions of climates, situated under the Equator, were consumed in countries bordering on the Pole; the industry of the north was transported to the south; and the inhabitants of the west were clothed with the manufactures of the east: a general intercourse of opinions, laws and customs, diseases and remedies, virtues and vices, was established among men.”

HENRY VIII. ascended the throne when he was about eighteen years of age, and had almost every advantage which a prince can have on his accession. He had a well-stored treasury, an undisputed title, and was at peace with all the powers in Europe. Commerce and arts had been some time introduced into England, where they met with a favourable reception. The young prince himself was beautiful in his person, expert in all polite exercises, open and liberal in his air, and loved by all his subjects. The old king, who was himself a scholar, had instructed him in all the learning of the times, so that he was an adept in school-divinity before the age of eighteen.

All these advantages, however, seemed to have been lost upon the new king. Being destitute of a good heart and solid understanding, he proved a tyrant. Being always actuated not by reason but the passion which happened to be uppermost in his mind, he behaved in a most absurd and contradictory manner; and, however fortunate some of his measures proved at last, it is impossible that either his motives, or the means he took for the accomplishment of his purposes, can be approved of by any good man.

One of Henry's first actions in his royal capacity was to punish Empson and Dudley, who were obnoxious to the populace on account of their having been the instruments of the late king's rapacity. As they could not be impeached merely on account of their having strictly executed the will of the king, they were accused of having entered into a treasonable conspiracy, and of having designed to seize by force the administration of government; and, though nothing could be more improbable than such a charge, the general prejudice against them was so great, that they were both condemned and executed.

In 1510, the king entered into a league with Pope Julius II. and Ferdinand king of Spain, against Louis XII. of France. In this alliance Henry was the only disinterested person. He expected nothing besides the glory which he hoped would attend his arms, and the title of Most Christian King, which the pope assured him would soon be taken from the King of France to be conferred upon him. The pope was desirous of wresting from Louis some valuable provinces which he possessed in Italy, and Ferdinand was desirous of sharing the spoil. Henry summoned his parliament; who very readily granted him supplies, as he gave out that his design was to conquer the kingdom of France, and annex it to the crown of England. It was in vain that one of his old prudent counsellors objected, that conquests on the continent

would only drain the kingdom without enriching it; and that England, from its situation, was not fitted to enjoy extensive empire. The young king, deaf to all remonstrances, and hurried away by his military ardour, resolved immediately to begin the war.

By the treaty it had been agreed, that Henry should send six thousand foot to attempt the recovery of Guienne; and Ferdinand obliged himself to provide five hundred men at arms, one thousand five hundred light horse, and four thousand foot, for the same purpose. Accordingly, in the spring of the year 1512, the English forces were transported under the command of the Marquis of Dorset, in order to join those of Spain. But, when they came over, they found Ferdinand contrived by every artifice to put off the attack of Guienne, till he had first made himself master of Navarre, which he soon effected, whilst the English troops served to favour his design, though, being exasperated at this unfair dealing, they did not stir from their camp. He afterwards offered to join the English, and march into Guienne, when he knew that the French had so posted themselves as to render the attempt impracticable.

Though Henry saw plainly enough how he had been imposed upon, yet he suffered himself to be drawn into a second league against France, by the pope, the Emperor Maximilian, and King Ferdinand, who all had their separate views, and made use of Henry as their instrument to bring them about. Pope Leo X. who succeeded Julius II. pursued the same scheme with his predecessor. By the treaty between them, the emperor in particular was to receive from the King of England an hundred thousand crowns of gold to defray the charges of the war, which he never intended to engage in.

The war between England and France began at sea. Henry had conferred the command of the fleet upon Sir Edward Howard, second son of Thomas earl of

of

of Surrey, afterwards Duke of Norfolk, who had distinguished himself by his skill and bravery in the preceding reign, and who was, on this occasion, created Lord High Admiral of England. After having conveyed the troops, destined to act on land, to the province of Guipuscoa, the admiral made a descent on the coast of Bretagne. This descent alarmed the French, who prepared a great fleet to oppose that of England; but a considerable reinforcement was sent from Plymouth, among which were two capital ships; the one called the Regent, commanded by Sir Thomas Knevet; and the other the Sovereign, by Sir Charles Brandon, afterwards Duke of Suffolk. When this squadron had joined the admiral, his fleet consisted of forty-five sail, with which he immediately resolved to attack the enemy, who were preparing to sail from the harbour of Brest. The force of the French fleet is very differently described by different writers: however, it was commanded by a brave officer, named Primaguet: the ship, on-board of which he fought, was called the Cordelier, and was so large as to be able to carry twelve hundred men; but the number then on-board appears to have been nine hundred. Sir Thomas Knevet, in the Regent, although it was a much smaller ship, attacked and boarded the French admiral. The action lasted for some time, with equal vigour on both sides. Both fleets stood some time in suspense, as spectators of this dreadful single combat. At length, the French admiral finding himself overpowered, set fire to his ship, which, communicating to the English ship to which he was grappled, exhibited a dreadful spectacle of horror to the two fleets: the cries of fury and despair, which were uttered by those on-board, filled each party with dismay, but could bring no relief to the perishing crews. Both ships blew up almost at the same time; the two commanders, and upwards of sixteen hundred men, perished by this fatal catastrophe. This dreadful scene rendered each side

disinclined to renew the battle: the French retired to Brest, and the English remained masters of the channel. In the great church of St. Maloes is a representation of this battle, cut in stone, which also serves to commemorate the French admiral, who was made a saint; and, it is said, that his memory is, to this day, preserved in the Romish calendar, under the title of St. Donne.

An indenture, in English, is preserved in the *Fædera*, between Henry VIII. and his admiral Sir Edward Howard, which throws great light on the manner of fitting out fleets for war in those times.

I. Besides the three thousand men, which, by league with Ferdinand of Spain, were to be furnished, and who were to be armed for sea-war, there were to be seven hundred soldiers, mariners, and gunners, in King Henry's ship, named the *Regent*. These three thousand men consisted of eighteen captains of the English ships, one thousand seven hundred and fifty soldiers, and one thousand two hundred and thirty-two mariners and gunners.

II. The admiral to have for the maintenance of himself in diet, and for wages and reward, ten shillings daily pay during the voyage; and each captain one shilling and six-pence per day, i. e. two shillings and seven-pence of our modern money.

III. The soldiers, mariners, and gunners, to have, per month, of twenty-eight days, five shillings wages, and five shillings more for victuals.

IV. The admiral undertakes to manage this armament, for the before-named and following purposes, he receiving three months expence always before-hand. *Item.* For the coat of every captain and soldier four shillings, and of every mariner and gunner one shilling and eight-pence.

The fleet is described as follows :

The <i>Regent</i>	--	1000 Tons.
Mary Rose	--	500

The

The Peter Pomegranate	400 Tons.
John Hopton's ship	400
Nicholas Rude --	400
Mary-George --	300

The rest of the eighteen ships were, one of 240 tons; one of 200 tons; three of 160 ditto each; one of 180 tons; two of 140 tons; three of 120 tons each; and one of 100 tons. For re-victualling and watering this fleet, the admiral was allowed two crayers; one of 65 tons, and the other of 55; in the former twelve mariners and a boy, in the latter ten and a boy, besides their commanders; each of the masters and commanders to have ten shillings per month for wages and victuals.

V. All the foldiers and sailors to have fix-pence per day for conduct-money; allowing a day's journey to be twelve miles only. It then goes on thus:

And forasmuch as our sovereign lord, at his costs and charges, victualled the said army and navy, the said admiral shall therefore reserve to the king, the one-half of all gains and winnings of the war, which he and the fleet, or any of them, shall fortune to obtain in the voyage, either on land or water: and also all prisoners, being chieftains; and one ship-royal, of two hundred tons, or upwards, with the ordnance and apparel of every prize to be taken by them.

This English fleet was to guard the seas from the channel to the straits-mouth of Gibraltar; and King Ferdinand's fleet was to guard the Mediterranean. It was about this time that ships began to be reckoned by guns and tonnage jointly; gunners being now, for the first time, mentioned in the *Fædera*.

In the same year James IV. king of Scotland, equipped a fleet, which he intended to send to France, under pretence of presenting it to Queen Anne, consort of Louis XII. one of which ships, says Rapin, was the largest that had ever been seen on the sea; but the whole armament was lost, or disabled, by a storm.

The

The king's real intention, in this step, was to aid the French king against his brother-in-law Henry VIII.

Lord Herbert informs us, that the Regent, mentioned before to carry a thousand tons, was the largest ship ever known in England to that time. It was built at Woolwich, which was the first royal dock in England. From this time we may date the commencement of the English royal navy; consisting of a number of stout ships of war, belonging to the crown, and permanently kept on foot for national defence. King Henry VIII. being the first English king who effectually pursued this plan, and for that end first established a royal navy office, with commissioners, &c. nearly as at present. He must, indeed, be allowed, amidst all his wild dissipations, to have employed great sums of money on his marine affairs; as well for the construction of ships of war, as of docks, yards, store-houses, &c.

For the advancement and benefit of navigation and commerce, the king chartered a corporation for the business of examining, licensing, and regulating, of pilots; for the ordering and directing of beacons, light-houses, buoys, &c. which is styled, The Corporation of the Trinity-House of Deptford Stroud. He afterwards instituted a similar society at Hull, and another at Newcastle-upon-Tyne; which establishment, according to Hakluyt, were in imitation of that which the Emperor Charles V. had made at Seville. The king, by his charter to the Trinity-House, confirmed all the ancient rights, privileges, &c. of the shipmen and mariners of England, and their several possessions at Deptford; whereby it appears, that such a society did exist before this time, though no traces of it are transmitted down to us. This corporation, whose powers have since been confirmed and augmented by succeeding kings, have the privilege of appointing pilots for the king's ships, regulating their wages, certifying their qualifications, as well as those of the masters of
ships

ships of war. They are likewise empowered to clear and deepen the Thames by ballast-hoys, with which ballast they supply the shipping. The examination of the forty mathematical boys at Christ's Hospital is likewise entrusted to them; who are likewise empowered to hear and determine complaints of officers and sailors, in the merchant's service.--But, to return.

In April following, 1513, the admiral put to sea again, with a fleet of forty-two men of war, besides small vessels, and drove the French into the harbour of Brest, where they fortified themselves, waiting for the arrival of a squadron of gallies from the Mediterranean. Sir Edward Howard found it impossible to attack them in that situation; he therefore laid waste the country round. Whilst he was thus employed, the six gallies appeared in the bay, under the command of M. Pregent; who, to avoid the English fleet, took shelter, with his squadron, in the Bay of Conquest, a few leagues from the harbour of Brest. The English admiral, therefore, determined to attack the gallies, which were at anchor between two rocks; on each of which a strong fort was erected: their situations were rendered more secure by lying far up the bay, so that the English ships of force could not be brought to engage them. - Still, however, this bold commander was determined to undertake their destruction; for which end he selected some of the bravest of his seamen, whom he put on board two gallies, which accompanied his fleet; and with these he proceeded to attack the French, as they lay at anchor. Sir Edward Howard himself, with seventeen of his men, boarded the French commodore; but being unsupported by the rest of the crew, the two gallies being accidentally separated, after withstanding, for a long time, the whole French force, all these brave men were either slain, or driven into the sea, one seaman only excepted, who served to inform the enemy that the English admiral was among the number of the vanquished. Lord Fer-

rers, who commanded the other galley, exerted himself to the utmost, to accomplish the object of the enterprize; but having expended all his ammunition, and seeing the fate of the admiral, retired out of the harbour.

Fuller, in his *State Worthies*, relates, that the posture of the French fleet in the harbour of Brest, and the consequences that must follow, either defeating or burning it, led the admiral to solicit the king, his master, to be present at so glorious an action, choosing rather that Henry should have the honour of destroying the French naval force than himself. These dispatches were laid before the privy council, who disrelished the proposal, thinking it too great a hazard of the king's person: they, therefore, advised sending the admiral an answer, reprehending him for his delays, and urging him to immediate exertions. Sir Edward was highly piqued at this treatment; and, being naturally impetuous, he determined to wipe off the imputation by some desperate act of bravery.

Thus fell the great Sir Edward Howard, a sacrifice to too quick a sense of honour in the service. A favourite maxim with this commander was, that "a seaman never performed any great achievement, who was not resolute to a degree of madness."

But Henry's affairs went much better by land. Having sent the best part of his troops over to Calais before him, he arrived there himself on the 30th of June, 1513. On the second of August he came to Terouenne, which his army had before laid siege to. Here the emperor came to the camp, and served under him, receiving an hundred crowns a-day for his pay, designing, by this show of honour he did King Henry, to make some amends for his breach of faith. The Duke of Longueville approaching with the French army to relieve Terouenne, Henry went out to meet him, and had no sooner begun to engage, on August 18, but the French, falling into confusion, fled with

the utmost precipitation. Only the principal officers, disdaining to follow so shameful an example, were taken prisoners, and among the rest Longueville himself. This rout was merrily called by some, The Battle of the Spurs, because the French used their spurs more than their swords.

The consequence of this defeat was the surrender of Terouenne four days after; and King Henry, with the emperor, entered the town on the 24th. The emperor left the army soon after; and, on September 15, Henry laid siege to Tournay, which surrendered in about a week. Terouenne was demolished, but it was resolved to keep Tournay; which was thought to be owing to Wolfey's advice, who had his eye upon that rich bishopric, and actually procured it for himself, under colour that its bishop refused to swear fealty to King Henry. Wolfey attended the king in this expedition. The king returned to England the latter end of October, and peace was concluded with France on the seventh of August in the following year, (1514,) whereby Tournay, which had been taken by the English, was ceded to them; and Louis XII. agreed to pay Henry a million of crowns, being the arrears due, by treaty, to his father and himself: a marriage was likewise agreed upon, between the French king, then fifty-three years of age, and the princess Mary, Henry's sister, then sixteen; and her portion was settled at four hundred thousand crowns. But the French monarch did not live many months after this marriage took place. He was succeeded by the Duke de Valois, under the name of Francis I.

The king, immediately on hearing of the loss of his high admiral, in the last action with the French fleet, had invested Sir Thomas Howard, the elder brother of the deceased, with that important post. This gallant officer had already distinguished himself for his bravery and public spirit, having, in conjunction with his brother, two years before, fitted out, at the expence

of their family, two ships to go in quest of some Scotch ships, which greatly annoyed the trade and navigation of the North Seas. The two brothers, being separated by a storm, happened each to fall in with one of the two ships they were in quest of. That which Sir Thomas Howard engaged was called the *Lion*, and was commanded by Sir Andrew Barton: the fight was long and doubtful; Barton being an experienced seaman, and being served by a resolute crew; but he happening to fall in the action, the ship surrendered. In the mean time Sir Edward fought and took the consort of the *Lion*, called *Jenny Perwin*, which was likewise a stout ship, and well manned.

James IV. king of Scotland, was much displeased at this proceeding, and sent ambassadors to his brother-in-law Henry, demanding satisfaction; when they received for answer, that punishing pirates was never held a breach of peace among princes. James, however, still continued dissatisfied; and, from that time to his death, remained unreconciled to the king and the English nation.

Henry VIII. being at that time in Picardy, James IV. seized this favourable opportunity, and invaded Northumberland with a numerous army. The Earl of Surrey, father to the two high admirals, marched against the invader with a powerful army, and was presently joined by his son Sir Thomas Howard, with five thousand veteran troops. The Earl of Surrey sent a herald to the King of Scotland, offering to give him battle; whilst the lord admiral sent the king word, that he was come, in person, to answer for the death of Sir Andrew Barton. This defiance produced the famous battle of Flouden, which was fought on the 19th of September, 1513, wherein Sir Thomas Howard commanded the vanguard, and, by his courage and conduct, contributed much to the obtaining that important victory, in which King James was slain, with the flower of the Scotch nobility. The loss, on the

the side of the English, was considerable in point of numbers; but few persons, of any note, were slain. Henry entertained so strong a sense of the services which the Howards had rendered him, that, at a parliament held the next year, he restored Thomas earl of Surrey to the title of Duke of Norfolk, and created the lord admiral Earl of Surrey.

In the year 1518, the death of Maximilian emperor of Germany caused an important change in the political system of Europe. Francis I. the French king, and Charles V. king of Spain, declared themselves candidates for the Imperial diadem: on the latter being elected to that chief station among Christian princes, a disgust and jealousy took place between these two powerful monarchs. Both were endowed with eminent talents and abilities: brave, aspiring, active, and warlike; beloved by their subjects, dreaded by their enemies, and respected by all the world. Francis was open, frank, liberal, munificent; carrying these virtues to an excess which prejudiced his affairs. Charles was political, close, artful, frugal; better qualified to obtain success in wars and negotiations. The one the more amiable man, the other the greater monarch. The king, from his oversights and indiscretions, naturally exposed to misfortunes; but qualified, by his spirit and magnanimity, to extricate himself from them with honour: the emperor, from his designing interested character, fitted, in his greatest successes, to excite jealousy and opposition even among his allies, and to rouse up a multitude of enemies in the place of one whom he had subdued. Fortune alone, without the concurrence of prudence or valour, never erected, of a sudden, so great a power as that which vested in the Emperor Charles V. He enjoyed the succession of Castile, Arragon, Austria, and the Netherlands; he inherited the conquests of Naples and Granada; election gave him the empire; and the bounds of the globe seemed to be enlarged, a

little before his time, that he might possess the treasure of the new world, whilst entire and unrifled. But, though the concurrence of all these advantages formed an empire greater and more extensive than any known in Europe since that of the Romans, yet the kingdom of France alone, being close, compact, united, rich, populous, and being interposed between all the provinces of the emperor's dominions, was able to make a vigorous opposition to his progress, and maintain the contest against him. At the same time Henry VIII. possessed the felicity of being able, both by the native force of his kingdom and its situation, to hold the balance between those two powers; and, had he known how to improve by policy and prudence his singular and inestimable advantage, he was really, by means of it, a greater potentate than either of those mighty monarchs, who seemed to strive for the dominion of Europe. But this prince was, in his character, inconsiderate, capricious, impolitic; ever guided either by his passions or his favourite; vain, imperious, haughty; sometimes actuated by friendship for foreign powers, oftener by resentment, seldom by his true interest: and thus, though he exulted in that superiority which his situation in Europe gave him, he never employed it to his own essential and durable advantage, or to that of his kingdom.

Both Francis and Charles courted the friendship and alliance of Henry, as soon as their jarring interests portended an open rupture. The former prevailed on the King of England to pass over to Calais, in order for a personal interview between the two kings.

In the month of June 1520, the sovereigns, attended with all the pomp and splendour which their two courts were capable of displaying, held friendly and unreserved intercourse together, near the towns of Ardres and Guines. The King of England had a spacious house of wood and canvas erected, where he feasted the French monarch: on this fabric, the figure
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of an English archer was embroidered, with this motto: *Cui adhæreo præest*, "He prevails whom I favour." Expressive of his own situation, as holding in his hands the balance of power among the potentates of Europe.

Two years after these warm intimations of friendship had mutually passed, Henry renounced them all, and, joining the emperor, sent over a powerful army to Calais, under the command of the Duke of Suffolk. At this time hand-guns, or muskets, were first introduced; whereby, in a little more than a century after, the practice of bows and arrows, in war, was quite laid aside.

The superiority of the English on the seas, at this time, is apparent, from a passage in Lord Herbert's history of Henry VIII. who relates, that the English and French courts, being each desirous to gain over to their interests the King of Scotland; one of the arguments used by the English minister for this purpose was, that his nation was master of the seas, and thereby able to intercept all succours that could be brought to Scotland from any of their foreign allies; and the ministers of France, in their reply, did not attempt to controvert this fact.

The Earl of Surrey, who was still high admiral, got together a large naval force, which was joined, at Southampton, by the Emperor Charles V. in person, who had prepared a fleet of Netherland ships, consisting of one hundred and eighty sail. To prevent the inconveniencies which might arise from this combined fleet, acting under different commanders, the emperor appointed the Earl of Surrey to the command of his own fleet, which appointment was ratified by Henry VIII.

The admiral proceeded with this force to the coast of Normandy; and, landing some forces near Cherburgh, spread devastation over the country. Shortly after, he sailed to the coast of Bretagne, where he landed

landed a large body of troops, and took the town of Morlaix: whilst Sir William Fitzwilliam, the vice-admiral, with a strong squadron, rode triumphant on the seas, and protected the merchant-ships of the two nations. The English merchants had great property in Morlaix, which was no more spared by the soldiers than the goods of the French. Having accomplished this business, the Earl of Surrey left the charge of the combined fleets to the vice-admiral, and sailed to Calais, where he took the command of the English army, destined for the invasion of France: which, when joined by forces from the Low Countries, under the command of the Count de Buren, amounted, in the whole, to eighteen thousand men.

Henry the next year sent the Earl of Surrey with an army into Scotland, which, without opposition, ravaged the Merse and Teviot-dale, and burned the town of Jedburgh. At this time the Scots had neither king nor regent to conduct them, nor any nobleman, of vigour and authority, qualified to assume the government; whence Henry determined to drive them to extremities, in hopes of obliging them, from the sense of their present weakness, to renounce their alliance with France, and to embrace that of England. He even gave them hopes of contracting a marriage, between their young king and the Lady Mary, heiress of England. The queen-dowager, with her whole party, warmly recommended the advantages of this alliance, and of a confederacy with Henry. They alledged, that the interest of Scotland had been too long sacrificed to that of the French, who, whenever they were reduced to difficulties, called for their assistance, but were ready to abandon them as soon as it was for their advantage to conclude a peace with England: that France was so distant and so divided from them by the sea, that she could never send succours in time, sufficient to protect the Scots against the ravages of the neighbouring kingdom: that nature, by
having

having placed the two British nations in the same island, had, in a manner, formed an alliance between them: it had given them the same language, manners, laws, and form of government; and thus prepared every thing for an intimate union. Hence, if national antipathies were abolished, which would soon be effected by a well-established peace; the two kingdoms, secured by the sea, and by their domestic force, could set all foreign enemies at defiance.

On the other hand, the partizans of the French alliance alledged, that the vicinity of England, and its superior power, rendered it impossible for a sincere and lasting confederacy to be formed with that hostile nation: that disputes would frequently arise between neighbouring states; and the more powerful would seize every frivolous pretence for oppressing the weaker, and reducing it to subjection: that as the vicinity of England and France had kindled an almost perpetual war between those two nations, if the Scots wished to maintain their independency, they ought to preserve their league with the latter, which balanced the force of the former: but if they deserted that ancient alliance, their inveterate enemies, the English, would soon invade them with a superior force, and reduce them to subjection; and that an insidious peace, by making the Scots forget the use of arms, would only serve to prepare the way for a more certain slavery.

As the arguments used by the French party were seconded by the prejudices of the people, they prevailed; and the Duke of Albany, who had been invited over from France to take upon him the regency, at last appearing among them, was able to throw the balance on that side. By the authority of the states, he levied an army, in order to revenge the ravages committed by the English in the beginning of the campaign, and marched towards the borders: but while they were passing the Tweed, at the bridge of Melross, such opposition was raised by the English party,

party, that Albany thought proper to retreat, and marched downwards, with the bank of the Tweed on his right. Then, fixing his camp opposite to Werk Castle, sent over some troops to besiege that fortress, who made a breach, and even stormed some of the out-works; but hearing that an English army was approaching, and discouraged at the season being far advanced, he disbanded his army, and retired to Edinburgh; from whence he soon after sailed to France, and never more returned to Scotland. The Scots were afterwards so disturbed by their domestic factions, that, for several years, they were in no condition to give any disturbance to England; by which means Henry was left, at leisure, to prosecute his designs on France.

The extreme avarice of Henry VII. was succeeded by as extreme profusion in his son Henry VIII. so that, in little more than ten years, this prodigal prince had scandalously dissipated all that immense wealth which he had inherited from his father: his exhausted coffers, therefore, disabled him from prosecuting the war, which he had entered into with France, with vigour, and to effect; and, after four years of languid operations, he began to discover, that he was only labouring to aggrandize a monarch, already too powerful, and who aspired to give law to all Europe. In the year 1527, a treaty of perpetual peace was concluded between Henry VIII. and Francis I. wherein the latter bound himself to pay Henry a perpetual annuity of fifty thousand crowns; and also as much salt of Brouge, in Saintonge, annually, as should amount to fifteen thousand crowns more; to be delivered on the spot, to such as Henry should empower to receive it. In return for this yearly tribute, the King of England agreed, finally, to renounce all claims to the crown of France. Soon after the ratification of this treaty, Cardinal Wolsey went over to France, and had a conference with that king.

Henry

Henry being now puffed up with his imaginary successes against France, and his real ones against Scotland, continued to lavish his treasures by expensive pleasures and no less expensive preparations for war. The old ministers, who had been appointed by his father to direct him, were now disregarded; and the king's confidence was entirely placed in Thomas, afterwards Cardinal Wolsey, who seconded him in all his favourite pursuits, and who, being the son of a private gentleman at Ipswich, had gradually raised himself to the first employments of the state. He doth not seem to have had many bad qualities besides his excessive pride, which disgusted all the nobility; but the great share he possessed in the favour of such an absolute prince as Henry VIII. put him quite out of the reach of his enemies.

The king having soon exhausted all the treasures left him by his father, as well as the supplies which he could by fair means obtain from his parliament, applied to Wolsey for new methods of replenishing his coffers. The minister's first scheme was to get a large sum from the people under the title of *benevolence*; though no title could be more improperly applied, as it was not granted without the greatest murmurings and complaints. Wolsey even met with opposition in the levying of it. In the first place having exacted a considerable sum from the clergy, he next applied himself to the house of commons; but they only granted him half the sum he demanded. The minister at first was highly offended, and desired to be heard in the house; but they replied, that none could be permitted to sit and argue there except such as were members. Soon after, the king, having occasion for new supplies, by Wolsey's advice attempted to procure them by his prerogative alone, without consulting his parliament. He issued out commissions to all the counties of England for levying four shillings in the pound from the clergy, and three shillings and four-pence from the

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laity. This stretch of royal power was soon opposed by the people, and a general insurrection seemed ready to ensue. Henry endeavoured to pacify them by circular letters; in which he declared, that what he demanded was only by way of benevolence. The city of London, however, still hesitated on the demand; and in some parts of the country insurrections were actually begun. These were happily suppressed by the Duke of Suffolk; but the cardinal lost somewhat of the king's favour on account of the improper advice he had given him. To reinstate himself in his good graces, Wolsey made the king a present of a noble palace called York-place, at Westminster, assuring him that from the first he had intended it for the king's use. In order to have a pretence for amassing more wealth, Wolsey next undertook to found two new colleges at Oxford; and for this purpose he received every day fresh grants from the pope and the king. The former imprudently gave him liberty to suppress some monasteries, and make use of their revenues for the erection of his new colleges; but this was a fatal precedent for the pontiff's interests, as it taught the king to seize on the monastic revenues whenever he stood in need of money.

For a considerable time Wolsey continued to enjoy the king's favour in an extreme degree; and, as no monarch was ever more despotic than Henry VIII. no minister was ever more powerful than Wolsey. This extraordinary elevation served only to render his fall the more conspicuous, and himself the more miserable, when it took place; and what was worse, he had long foreseen, from what he knew of the king's capricious and obstinate temper, that it certainly would happen one time or other. The cause of his final overthrow was the desire King Henry began to entertain of having his queen, Catherine, divorced. The doctrines of the reformation, propagated by Luther in 1517, had gained considerable ground in England, and many professed a belief in them, notwithstanding the
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severe persecutions which had been carried on against heretics during some of the preceding reigns. The clergy had become so exceedingly corrupt, and were immersed in such monstrous ignorance, that they were universally hated even by their own party, while no regard at all was paid to their decisions, or rather they were looked upon with the utmost abhorrence by the reformers. Even the papal authority, though still very great, had, in no greater space of time than ten years (*viz.* from 1517, when first Luther began to attack it, to the present year 1527), declined very sensibly. The marriage of King Henry therefore being looked upon by all parties as illegal in itself, and only sanctified by a dispensation from the pope, had been frequently objected to on different occasions. We are informed by some authors, that when Henry VII. betrothed his son, at that time only twelve years of age, he evidently shewed an intention of taking afterwards a proper opportunity to annul the contract; and that he ordered Prince Henry, as soon as he should come of age, to enter a protestation against the marriage; charging him on his death-bed not to finish an alliance so unusual and liable to such insuperable objections. Some members of the privy council, particularly Warham the primate, afterwards declared against the completion of the marriage; and, even after it was completed, some incidents which in a short time took place were sufficient to make him sensible of the general sentiments of the public on that subject. The states of Castile had opposed a marriage betwixt the Emperor Charles and the English Princess Mary, Henry's daughter, urging among other things the illegitimacy of her birth. The same objection afterwards occurred on opening a negotiation with France for a marriage with the Duke of Orleans.

If these accounts are to be depended upon as authentic, we can scarcely conceive it possible but Henry himself must have been somewhat staggered by them; though it is by no means probable that they were his

only motives. The queen was six years older than the king, her personal charms were decayed, and his affection lessened in proportion. All her children had died in infancy except one daughter, the Princess Mary, above-mentioned; and Henry was, or pretended to be, greatly struck with this, as it seemed something like the curse of being childless, pronounced in the Mosaic law against some evil-doers. Another point of the utmost importance was the succession to the crown, which any question concerning the legitimacy of the king's marriage would involve in confusion. It was also supposed, with great reason, that, should any obstacles of this kind occur, the King of Scotland would step in as the next heir, and advance his pretensions to the crown of England. But above all, it is probable that he was influenced by the love he had now contracted for Anne Boleyn, who had lately been appointed maid of honour to the queen. In this station Henry had frequent opportunities of seeing her, and soon became deeply enamoured; and, finding that his passion could not be gratified but by a marriage, it is not to be doubted that he was thus obstinately set upon the divorce; for which purpose he sent his secretary to Rome to obtain from Clement a bull for dissolving his marriage with Catherine. That he might not seem to entertain any doubt of the pope's prerogative, he insisted only on some grounds of nullity in the bull granted by his predecessor Julius for the accomplishment of the marriage. In the preamble to this bull, it had been said, that it was granted only upon the solicitation of Henry himself; though it was known that he was then a youth under twelve years of age: it was likewise asserted, that the bull was necessary for maintaining the peace between the two crowns; though otherwise it is certain that there was no appearance of a quarrel betwixt them. These false premises seemed to afford a very good pretence for dissolving it; but, as matters then stood, the pope was
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involved in the utmost perplexity. Queen Catherine was aunt to the emperor, who had lately made Clement himself a prisoner, and whose resentment he still dreaded: and besides, he could not with any degree of prudence declare the bull of the former pope illicit, as this would give a mortal blow to the doctrine of papal infallibility. On the other hand, Henry was his protector and friend; the dominions of England were the chief resource from whence his finances were supplied; and the King of France, some time before, had got a bull of divorce in circumstances nearly similar. In this exigence he thought the wisest method would be to spin out the affair by negotiation; and, in the mean time he sent over a commission to Wolsey, in conjunction with the Archbishop of Canterbury, or any other English prelate, to examine the validity of the king's marriage and of the former dispensation, granting them also a provisional dispensation for the king's marriage with any other person.

The pope's message was laid before the council in England: but they considered, that an advice given by the pope in this secret manner might very easily be disavowed in public; and that a clandestine marriage would totally invalidate the legitimacy of any issue the king might have by such a match. In consequence of this, fresh messengers were dispatched to Rome, and evasive answers returned; the pope never imagining that Henry's passion would hold out during the tedious course of an ecclesiastical controversy. But in this he was mistaken. The King of England had been taught to dispute as well as the pope, and valued himself not a little on his knowledge in theology: and to his arguments he added threats; telling him that the English were but too well disposed to withdraw from the holy see; and that, if he continued uncomplying, the whole country would readily follow the example of their monarch, who should always deny obedience to a pontiff that had treated him with such falsehood

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and duplicity. The king even proposed to his holiness, whether, if he were not permitted to divorce his present queen, he might not have a dispensation for having two wives at once?

The pope, perceiving the king's eagerness, at last sent Cardinal Campegio, his legate, to London; who, with Wolsey, opened a court for trying the legitimacy of the king's marriage with Catherine, and cited the king and queen to appear before them. The trial commenced the 31st of May 1529: and both parties presented themselves. The king answered to his name when called: but the queen, instead of answering to her's, rose from her seat, and, throwing herself at the king's feet, made a very pathetic harangue; which her dignity, her virtue, and misfortunes, rendered still more affecting. She told her husband, " That she was a stranger in his dominions, without protection, without counsel, and without assistance; exposed to all the injustice which her enemies were pleased to impose upon her: that she had quitted her native country, without any other resource than her connections with him and his family; and that, instead of suffering thence any violence or iniquity, she had been assured of having in them a safeguard against every misfortune: that she had been his wife during twenty years; and would here appeal to himself, whether her affectionate submission to his will had not merited other treatment than to be thus, after so long a time, thrown from him with indignity: that she was conscious,---he himself was assured,---that her virgin honour was yet unstained when he received her into his bed; and that her connections with his brother had been carried no farther than the mere ceremony of marriage: that their parents, the Kings of England and Spain, were esteemed the wisest princes of their time, and had undoubtedly acted by the best advice when they formed the agreement for that marriage, which was now represented as so criminal and unnatural: and that she acquiesced

quiesced in their judgment, and would not submit her cause to be tried by a court whose dependence on her enemies was too visible ever to allow her any hopes of obtaining from them an equitable or impartial decision." Having spoken these words, the queen rose, and, making the king a low reverence, left the court; nor would she ever again appear in it. The legate having again summoned the queen to appear before them, on her refusal, declared her contumacious, and the trial proceeded in her absence. But, when the business seemed nearly to be decided, Campegio, on some very frivolous pretences, prorogued the court, and at last transferred the cause before the see of Rome.

All this time Cardinal Wolsey seemed to be in the same dilemma with the pope, and indeed much worse; as he could not boast of the same independence which his holiness possessed. On the one hand, he was very solicitous to gratify the king his master, who had distinguished him by so many and extraordinary marks of favour; on the other, he feared to offend the pope, whose servant he more immediately was, and who likewise had power to punish his disobedience. He had long known that this affair was certainly to end in his ruin; and, by attempting to please all parties, he fell under the displeasure of every one; so that he was at last left without a single friend in the world. The king was displeased on account of his not entering into his cause with the warmth he thought he had reason to expect; Anne Boleyn imputed to him the disappointment of her hopes; while even Queen Catherine and her friends expressed the greatest indignation against him on account of the part he had openly taken in the affair of her divorce. In this miserable situation the king sent him a message by the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, demanding the great seal; the cardinal refused to deliver it without a more express warrant; upon which Henry wrote him a letter, and on receipt of this it was instantly given up. The seal was bestowed on
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Sir Thomas More; a man who, besides elegant literary talents, was possessed of the highest capacity, integrity, and virtue. Wolsey was next commanded to depart from York-place palace, which he had built in London; and which, though it belonged to the see of York, was now seized by the king, and afterwards became the residence of the British sovereigns, under the name of Whitehall. All his furniture and plate, the richness of which seemed rather proper for a monarch than a subject, was seized for the king's use. He was then commanded to retire to Esher, a country-seat which he possessed near Hampton-court, and there to wait the king's pleasure. One disgrace followed another; and his fall was at length completed by a summons to London to answer a charge of high-treason. This summons he at first refused to answer, as being a cardinal. However, being at length persuaded, he set out on his journey; but was taken ill, and died by the way.

After the death of Wolsey, the king, by the advice of Cranmer, had the legality of his marriage debated in all the universities of Europe; and the votes of these were obtained in his favour by dint of money. The disbursements made on the occasion had even been preserved to this day. To a subdeacon he gave a crown, to a deacon two crowns, and so to the rest in proportion to the importance of their station or opinion.--- Being thus fortified by the opinions of the universities, and even of the Jewish rabbies (for them also he had consulted), Henry at length thought he might safely oppose the pope himself. He began by reviving in parliament an old law against the clergy, by which all those who had submitted to the authority of the pope's legate were condemned to severe penalties. The clergy, to conciliate the king's favour, were obliged to pay a fine of 118,000 pounds. A confession was likewise extorted from them, that the king, and not the pope, was the supreme head of the church and clergy of England. An act was soon after passed against le-
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veying the first-fruits, or a year's rent, of all the bishoprics that fell vacant. After this the king privately married his beloved Anne Boleyn; and, she proving with child soon after marriage, he publicly owned her for his wife, and passed with her through London, with a greater magnificence than had ever been known before. The streets were strewed with flowers, the walls of the houses hung with tapestry, and an universal joy seemed to be diffused among the people. The unfortunate Queen Catherine, perceiving all further opposition to be vain, retired to Amphyll, near Dunstable, where she continued the rest of her days in privacy and peace. Her marriage with Henry was at last declared invalid, but not till after the latter had been married to Anne Boleyn, though this declaration ought undoubtedly to have preceded it.

The pope was no sooner informed of these proceedings, than he passed a sentence, declaring Catherine to be the king's only lawful wife; requiring him to take her again, and denouncing his censures against him in case of refusal. Henry, on the other hand, knowing that his subjects were entirely at his command, resolved to separate totally from the church of Rome. In the year 1534, he was declared head of the church by parliament; the authority of the pope was completely abolished in England; all tributes formerly paid to the holy see were declared illegal; and the king was entrusted with the collation to all ecclesiastical benefices. The nation came into the king's measures with joy, and took an oath called the oath of supremacy: all the credit which the popes had maintained over England for ages, was now overthrown at once; and none seemed to repine at the change, except those who were immediately interested by their dependence on Rome.

But, though the king thus separated from the church of Rome, he by no means adhered to the doctrines of Luther which had been lately published. He had written a book against this celebrated reformer, which

the pope pretended greatly to admire; and honoured King Henry, on its account, with the title of “ Defender of the Faith.” This character he seemed to be determined to maintain, and therefore persecuted the reformers most violently. Many were burnt for denying the popish doctrines, and some also were executed for maintaining the supremacy of the pope. The courtiers knew not which side to take, as both the new and old religions were equally persecuted; and, as both parties equally courted the favour of the king, he was by that means enabled to assume an absolute authority over the nation. As the monks had all along shewn the greatest resistance to Henry’s ecclesiastical character, he resolved at once to deprive them of the power of injuring him. He accordingly empowered Cromwell, secretary of state, to send commissioners into the several counties of England to inspect the monasteries; and to report, with rigorous exactness, the conduct and deportment of such as were found there. This employment was readily undertaken by some creatures of the court, whose names were Layton, London, Price, Gage, Petre, and Belafis. They are said to have discovered monstrous disorders in many of the religious houses; whole convents of women abandoned to all manner of lewdness; friars accomplices in their crimes; pious frauds every where committed, to increase the devotion and liberality of the people; and cruel and inveterate factions maintained between the inhabitants. Thus a general horror was excited against these communities; and therefore the king, in 1536, suppressed the less monasteries, amounting to 376 in number. Their revenues, computed at 32,000 pounds a-year, were confiscated to the king’s use; besides their plate and other goods, computed at 100,000 pounds more. In 1538, the greater monasteries also were demolished. The better to reconcile the people to this great innovation, stories were published, perhaps with aggravations, of the detestable lives which the friars led

led in their convents. The reliques also, and other objects of superstitious veneration, were now brought forth, and became objects of derision to the reformers. A great number of these are enumerated by Protestant writers: such as the parings of St. Edmund's toes; some of the coals that roasted St. Laurence; the girdle of the Virgin Mary, shewn in no fewer than eleven different places; two or three heads of St. Ursula; the felt of St. Thomas of Lancaster, an infallible cure for the head-ach; part of St. Thomas of Canterbury's shirt, much revered among big-bellied women; some reliques, an excellent preservative against rain, others against weeds in corn; &c. Some impostures, however, were discovered, which displayed a little more ingenuity in the contrivance. At Hales, in the county of Gloucester, had been shewn, during several ages, the blood of Christ brought from Jerusalem. The veneration for this precious relique may easily be imagined; but it was attended with a most remarkable circumstance not observed in any other reliques. The sacred blood was not visible to any one in mortal sin, even when set before him; nor could it be discovered till he had performed good works sufficient for his absolution. At the dissolution of the monastery, the whole contrivance was discovered. Two of the monks who were let into the secret had taken the blood of a duck, which they renewed every week: they put it into a phial, one side of which was thin and transparent crystal, the other thick and opaque. When any rich pilgrim arrived, they were sure to shew him the dark side, till masses and offerings had expiated his offences; after which they made him happy, by turning the phial. ---A miraculous crucifix had been kept at Boxley in Kent, and bore the appellation of the Rood of Grace. The lips, eyes, and head, of the image, moved on the approach of its votaries. Helsey bishop of Rochester broke the crucifix at St. Paul's cross, and shewed to all the people the springs and wheels by which it had

been secretly moved. A great wooden idol, called Darvel Gartherin, was also brought to London and cut in pieces: and, by a cruel refinement of vengeance, it was employed as fuel to burn Friar Forest, who was punished for denying the king's supremacy, and for some pretended heresies. A finger of St. Andrew, covered with a thin plate of silver, had been pawned for a debt of forty pounds; but, as the king's commissioners refused to release the pawn, people made themselves very merry with the poor creditor on account of his security. On this occasion also was demolished the noted shrine of Thomas a Becket, commonly called St. Thomas of Canterbury. The riches of it were inconceivable when broken down; the gold with which it was adorned filled two large chests that eight strong men could scarcely carry out of the church. The king, on the whole, suppressed 645 monasteries, of which twenty-eight had abbots who enjoyed a seat in parliament. Ninety colleges were demolished in several counties; 2374 chantries and free chapels, and 110 hospitals. The whole revenue of these establishments amounted to 161,100 pounds.

It is easy to imagine the indignation which such an uninterrupted course of sacrilege and violence would occasion at Rome. In 1535, the king had executed Bishop Fisher, who was created a cardinal while in prison, and Sir Thomas More, for denying or speaking ambiguously about his supremacy. When this was reported in Italy, numerous libels were published all over the country, comparing the King of England to Nero, Domitian, Caligula, and the most wicked tyrants of antiquity. Clement VII. died about six months after he had threatened the king with a sentence of excommunication; and Paul III. who succeeded him in the papal throne, entertained some hopes of an accommodation. But Henry was so much accustomed to domineering, that the quarrel was soon rendered totally incurable. The execution of Fisher was reckoned

such a capital injury, that at last the pope passed all his censures against the king, citing him and all his adherents to appear at Rome within ninety days, in order to answer for their crimes. If they failed, he excommunicated them; deprived the king of his realm; subjected the kingdom to an interdict: declared his issue by Anne Boleyn illegitimate; dissolved all leagues which any Catholic princes had made with him; gave his kingdom to any invader; commanded the nobility to take up arms against him; freed his subjects from all oaths of allegiance; cut off their commerce with foreign states; and declared it lawful for any one to seize them, to make slaves of their persons, and to convert their effects to his own use. But, though these censures were then passed, they were not openly denounced. The pope delayed the publication till he should find an agreement with England totally desperate, and till the emperor, who was then hard pressed by the Turks and the Protestant princes of Germany, should be in a condition to carry the sentence into execution. But in 1538, when news arrived at Rome that Henry had proceeded with the monasteries as above related, the pope was at last provoked to publish the censures against him. Libels were again dispersed, in which he was anew compared to the most furious persecutors of antiquity, and the preference was now given on their side. Henry, it was said, had declared war with the dead, whom the Pagans themselves respected; was at open enmity with heaven; and had engaged in professed hostility with all the saints and angels. Above all, he was reproached with his resemblance to the Emperor Julian, whom (it was said) he imitated in his apostacy and learning, though he fell short of him in his morals. But these terrible fulminations had now lost their effect. Henry had long ago denied the supremacy of the pope, and therefore had appealed from him to a general council; but now, when a general council was summoned at Mantua, he refused

fused to be subject to it, because it was called by the pope, and lay entirely under subjection to that spiritual usurper. He engaged his clergy to make a declaration to the like purpose, and prescribed to them many other alterations with regard to their ancient tenets and practices. It was expected that the spirit of opposition to the church of Rome would have at last made him fall in with the doctrines of the reformed; but, though he had been gradually changing the theological system in which he was educated, ever since he came to the years of maturity, he was equally positive and dogmatical in the few articles he retained, as though the whole fabric had continued entire and unshaken: and, though he stood alone in his opinion, the flattery of courtiers had so much inflamed his tyrannical arrogance, that he thought himself intitled to regulate by his own particular standard the religious faith of the whole nation. The point on which he chiefly rested his orthodoxy was the most absurd in the whole popish doctrine, namely, that of transubstantiation. All departure from this he held to be a damnable error; and nothing, he thought, could be more honourable for him, than, while he broke off all connections with the Roman pontiff, to maintain, in this essential article, the purity of the Catholic faith.

In 1540, the king suppressed the only religious order remaining in England; namely, the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, or the Knights of Malta, as they are commonly called. This order had by their valour done great service to Christendom; and had very much retarded, at Jerusalem, Rhodes, and Malta, the rapid progress of the barbarians. During the general surrender of the religious houses in England, they had obstinately refused to give up their revenues to the king; and Henry, who would endure no society that professed obedience to the pope, was obliged to have recourse to parliament for the dissolution of this order. Their revenues were large, and formed a considerable

considerable addition to the acquisitions which the king had already made. But he had been such a bad economist, that, notwithstanding the immense plunder afforded him by the church, he now demanded from parliament a very considerable supply. The commons, however, though lavish of the blood of their fellow-subjects, were extremely frugal of their money; and it was not without murmuring that the grant could be obtained, even by this absolute and dreaded monarch.

The king all this time continued to punish with unrelenting severity the Protestants who offended against the law of the six articles, and the Papists who denied his supremacy; which gave occasion to a foreigner at that time to say, that those who were against the pope were burned, and those who were for him were hanged. The king even seemed to display in an ostentatious manner his tyrannical justice and impartiality which reduced both parties to subjection. This year he executed three Protestants and three Papists coupled together. The latter declared, that the most grievous part of their punishment was the being coupled to such heretical miscreants as suffered with them.

In 1542, Henry proceeded to the farther dissolution of colleges, hospitals, and other foundations of that nature. The courtiers had been dealing with the presidents and governors to make a surrender of their revenues to the king; and they had succeeded with eight. But there was an obstacle to their farther progress: it had been provided by the local statutes of most of these foundations, that no president nor any fellows could make such a deed without the unanimous consent of all the fellows. This consent would not have been easily obtained; but the parliament proceeded in a summary manner to annul all these statutes; by which means the revenues of those houses were exposed to the rapacity of the king and his favourites. Henry also now extorted from many bishops a surrender

der of their chapter-lands; by which means he pillaged the fees of Canterbury, York, and London, and enriched his favourites with their spoils. He engaged the parliament to mitigate the penalties of the six articles, as far as regarded the marriage of priests, which was now only subjected to a forfeiture of goods, chattels, and lands, during life: he was still equally bent on maintaining a rigid purity in speculative principles. He had appointed a commission consisting of two archbishops and several bishops of both provinces, together with a considerable number of doctors of divinity; and by virtue of his ecclesiastical supremacy he had charged them to choose a religion for his people. Before the commissioners, however, had made any progress in this arduous undertaking, the parliament had passed a law by which they ratified all the tenets which these divines should establish with the king's consent; and thus they were not ashamed of declaring expressly that they took their religion upon trust, and had no other rule either in religious or temporal concerns than the arbitrary will of their master. One clause of the statute, however, seems to favour somewhat of the spirit of liberty. It was enacted, that the ecclesiastical commissioners should establish nothing repugnant to the laws and statutes of the realm. But in reality this proviso was inserted by the king, to serve his own purposes. By introducing a confusion and contradiction into the laws, he became more the master of every one's life and property; and, as the ancient independence of the church still gave him jealousy, he was well pleased, under colour of such a clause, to introduce appeals from spiritual to civil courts. For the same reason he would never promulgate a body of canon law; and he encouraged the judges on all occasions to interpose in ecclesiastical causes, wherever they thought the law or the prerogative concerned. Being thus armed by the authority of parliament, or rather by their acknowledgement of his spiritual supremacy, the king employed his commis-

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sioners to select a system of tenets for the assent and belief of the nation. A small volume was published, under the title of *The Institution of a Christian Man*, which was received by the convocation, and made the infallible standard of orthodoxy. In this book the points of justification, faith, free-will, good-works, and grace, were discussed in a manner somewhat favourable to the opinions of the reformers. The sacraments, which a few years before were only allowed to be three, were now increased to seven, conformably to the sentiments of the Catholics. Throughout the whole of this book the king's caprice is very discernible; and the book is in reality to be regarded as his composition. For Henry, while he made his opinion a rule for the nation, would himself submit to no authority whatever; not even to any which he had formerly established. The same year the people had a farther instance of the king's inconsistency. He ordered a new book to be composed, called *The Erudition of a Christian Man*; and, without asking the consent of the convocation, he published by his own authority this new model of orthodoxy. He was no less positive in his new creed than he had been in the old one; but, though he required the faith of the nation to veer about at his signal, he was particularly careful to inculcate the doctrine of passive obedience in all his books, and he was no less careful to retain the nation in the practice of it.

But, while the king was thus spreading his own books among the people, both he and the clergy seem to have been very much perplexed with regard to the scriptures. A review had been made by the ecclesiastical synod of the new translation of the Bible; and Bishop Gardiner had proposed, that, instead of employing English expressions throughout, several Latin words should still be preserved, because they contained, as he pretended, such peculiar energy and significance, that they had no correspondent terms in the English tongue. Among these were, *ecclesia*, *penitentia*, *pontifex*, *contritus*,

&c. But as this mixture would appear extremely barbarous, and was plainly calculated for no other purpose than to retain the people in their ancient ignorance, the proposal was rejected. The knowledge of the people, however, seemed to be still more dangerous than their ignorance; and the king and parliament, soon after the publication of the scriptures, retracted the concession which they had formerly made, and prohibited all but gentlemen and merchants to peruse them. Even that liberty was not granted without an apparent hesitation, and dread of the consequences. These persons were allowed to read, *so it be done quietly and with good order*. And the preamble to the act sets forth, “ That many seditious and ignorant persons had abused the liberty granted them of reading the Bible; and that great diversity of opinion, animosities, tumults, and schisms, had been occasioned by perverting the sense of the scriptures.” The mass-book also passed under the king’s examination; but little alteration was yet made in it. Some doubtful or fictitious saints only were struck out; and the name of the pope was erased. The latter precaution was also used with every new book that was printed, and even every old one that was sold. The word *pope* was carefully omitted or blotted out; as if that precaution could abolish the term from the language, or cause the people to forget that such a person existed. About this time also, the king prohibited the acting of plays, interludes, and farces, in derision of the popish superstitions; which the Protestants had been in use to practise: and this prohibition was in the highest degree pleasing to the Roman Catholics.

In this tyrannical and head-strong manner Henry proceeded with regard to ecclesiastical affairs. In other respects his conduct was equally violent. With regard to his domestic concerns, history scarcely affords his parallel. We have already taken notice of his extreme love for Anne Boleyn, whom he married, con-
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trary even to his own principles, before the marriage with Catherine was dissolved. His affection for the former was carried to such an height, that he even procured an act excluding from the succession the issue of Queen Catherine, in favour of the children of Anne Boleyn; and failing them to the king's heirs for ever. An oath to this purpose was likewise enjoined, under penalty of imprisonment during the king's pleasure, and forfeiture of goods and chattels. All slander against the king or his new queen, or their issue, was subjected to the penalty of treason or misprision of treason. The reason given for this extreme severity towards his own child was, that her mother had obstinately refused to quit the kingdom, notwithstanding all the methods he could take to induce her so to do. The oath was generally taken throughout the kingdom; Sir Thomas More the chancellor, and Fisher bishop of Rochester, being the only persons who refused; for which both of them were imprisoned, and soon after executed. The unfortunate Queen Catherine died, in her retreat at Amphyll, in the year 1536. On her death-bed she wrote a most pathetic letter to the king, in which she forgave him all the injuries she had received, and recommended to him in the strongest terms their daughter the Princess Mary. This letter affected Henry so much, that he could not read it without tears; but the new queen is said to have exulted in such a manner on hearing of the death of her rival, as was quite inconsistent with either decency or humanity. Her triumph, however, was of short duration. Henry had no sooner possessed her, secure from every disquieting thought by the death of Queen Catherine, than his passion began to decline; and to this her delivery of a dead son did not a little contribute; for so impetuous and absurd were his passions, and such was his desire for male issue, that the disappointment in this respect alone was sufficient to alienate his affections from his wife. The levity of her temper, and

her extreme gaiety of behaviour bordering upon licentiousness, also gave an opportunity to her enemies of inflaming the king's jealousy against her. The Viscountess of Rochfort, in particular, a woman of profligate manners, and who was married to the queen's brother, had the cruelty to report to the king that her husband committed incest with his own sister; and, not content with this, she interpreted every instance of favour shewn by her to a man, as a proof of criminal intercourse between them. At the same time it must not be forgot, that he, who insisted on such rigid fidelity from his wives, was himself the most faithless of mankind. He had doubts, it may be allowed, about the legality of his marriage with Queen Catherine, but his doubts were evidently confirmed by the charms of Anne Boleyn. After being satiated with her for six years, perhaps he really doubted her fidelity; but here again his doubts were confirmed by the beauty of Jane Seymour, with whom he had now fallen love. It may easily be believed, that from this consideration alone there was no reason to hope that ever the unfortunate Anne would be able to exculpate herself. Had she really been guilty, her monster of a husband might have allowed her to live; but his cruelty was as unbounded and insatiable as his other perverse passions. She was condemned; and the sentence pronounced against her was, that she should be burned or beheaded at the king's pleasure. On hearing this dreadful denunciation, she exclaimed, "O Father! O Creator! thou who art the way, the truth, and the life! thou knowest that I have not deserved this fate." She then made the most solemn protestations of innocence before her judges; but these, as they had been from the beginning ineffectual, so it was not to be supposed that they could now avail any thing. Anne was beheaded by the executioner of Calais, who was reckoned more expert than any in England; and Henry enjoyed the pleasure of marrying his beloved Jane Seymour. His

satisfaction, however, was of no long continuance: for the queen, becoming pregnant immediately after marriage, died in two days after the birth of the child; who, being a son, was baptised by the name of Edward VI. As this lady had been more beloved by Henry than any of his other wives, his grief for the loss of her was extreme. However, it did not hinder him from entering very soon afterwards into a new matrimonial scheme; in which he met with many difficulties. His first proposals were made to the Duchess-dowager of Milan, niece to the emperor and to Catherine his own former queen; but, as he had behaved so indifferently to the aunt, it is scarcely to be supposed that his addresses could prove agreeable to the niece. On this he demanded the Duchess-dowager of Longueville, daughter of the Duke of Guise; but on making the proposal to the French monarch, Francis I. he was informed that the princess had been already betrothed to the King of Scotland. Henry, however, would take no refusal. He had learned that the object of his affection was endowed with many accomplishments, was very beautiful, and of a large size, which last property he looked upon to be necessary for him who was now become somewhat corpulent himself. Francis, to prevent any more solicitations on this subject, sent the princess to Scotland, but at the same time made Henry an offer of Mary of Bourbon, daughter of the Duke of Vendosme. This princess was rejected by Henry, because he had heard of her being formerly refused by the King of Scotland. He was then offered his choice of the two younger sisters of the Queen of Scotland, both of them being equal in merit as well as size to the one whom he had desired: but Henry, unwilling to trust to any reports concerning the beauty of these ladies, or even to their pictures, proposed to Francis, that they should have a conference at Calais, under pretence of business, and that the latter should bring with him the two Princesses of Guise, with the finest ladies

ladies of quality in France, that he might make a choice. This indelicate proposal shocked Francis: he returned for answer, that he was too much impressed with regard for the fair-sex to carry ladies of the first quality, like cattle, to a market, to be chosen or rejected according to the humour of the purchaser. Henry remonstrated and stormed as usual; but, though Francis at this time earnestly wished to oblige him, he at last totally rejected the proposal. Negotiations were then entered into for a German match; and the Princess of Cleves was proposed by Cromwell, on account of the great interest her father had with the Protestant princes of Germany. Henry had also become enamoured of her person from a picture of her he had seen: but this, though drawn by an eminent artist, was unluckily done so much to the advantage, that when the negotiation was quite finished, and the bride arrived in England, he lost all patience, swearing that she was a great Flanders mare, and that he could never bear her the smallest affection. The matter was still worse, when he found that she could speak no language but Dutch, of which he was entirely ignorant. Notwithstanding all these objections, however, he resolved to complete the marriage, telling Cromwell, that, since he had gone so far, he must now put his neck into the yoke. The reason of this was, that the friendship of the German princes was now more than ever necessary for Henry; and it was supposed that the affront of sending the princess back to her own country might be resented. Cromwell, who knew that his own life depended on the event of the matter, was very anxious to learn from the king how he liked his spouse after having passed a night with her; but was struck with terror when he replied that he now hated her more than ever; that he was resolved not to cohabit with her, and even suspected that she was not a virgin; a matter in which he pretended to be a connoisseur, and about which he was extremely scrupulous. In a little time

time his aversion increased to such a degree, that he determined at any rate to get rid of his queen and prime minister both at once. Cromwell had long been an object of aversion to the nobility, who hated him on account of his obscure birth; his father being only a blacksmith, though the son had obtained the first employments in the kingdom. By his office of vicar-general, he had an almost absolute authority over the clergy; he was also lord privy-seal, lord chamberlain, and master of the wards. He had also been invested with the order of the garter, and was created Earl of Essex. This was sufficient to raise the envy of the courtiers: but he had also the misfortune to fall under the displeasure of both Protestants and Papists; the former hating him on the account of his concurrence with Henry in their persecution, and the latter looking upon him as the greatest enemy of their religion. To these unfortunate circumstances on the part of Cromwell, was added the usual situation of Henry himself, who had now fallen in love with Catherine Howard, niece to the Duke of Norfolk; to enjoy whom, he now determined to divorce Anne of Cleves. By the insinuations of this lady and her uncle, Cromwell's ruin was accomplished; and he was condemned, not only without any trial, but even without examination. The charge was of heresy and high-treason; but the instances of the latter were quite absurd and ridiculous. He submitted, however, to his sentence without murmuring, as knowing that his complaints on this subject would be revenged on his son. He was terribly mangled by the executioner before his head could be struck off. His death was soon followed by the dissolution of the marriage with the Princess of Cleves, which was annulled by the consent of both parties. The princess parted from him with great indifference; and accepted of three thousand pounds a-year as a compensation, but refused to return to her own country after the affront she had received.

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The king's marriage with Catharine Howard soon followed the dissolution of that with Anne of Cleves; but the event may surely be regarded as a providential punishment upon this tyrant, whose cruelty, lust, and other bad qualities, can scarcely be matched in history; for King Henry's unjust insinuations against the virtue of the unfortunate Princess of Cleves were amply repaid by the actual infidelities of his new queen, whom we must suppose he believed to be a pure and perfect virgin at the time he married her. So happy indeed did he imagine himself in this new marriage, that he publicly returned thanks for his conjugal felicity, when a most unfortunate information concerning the queen's incontinence was given to Cranmer by one of the name of Lascelles, whose sister had been servant to the Duchess-dowager of Norfolk. He not only gave intelligence of her amours before marriage, but affirmed that she had continued the same criminal practice ever since. Two of her paramours were arrested, and confessed their crimes: the queen herself also confessed guilt before marriage, but denied having ever been false to the king's bed; which, however, had very little probability. She was beheaded on Tower-hill, along with the Viscountess of Rochfort, who had been a confidant in her amours. The latter, as has already been observed, was a principal instrument in procuring the destruction of the unhappy Anne Boleyn, and therefore died unpitied; while the virtuous character of that unfortunate lady received an additional confirmation from the discovery of this woman's guilt.

To secure himself from any farther disasters of this kind, Henry passed a most extraordinary law, enacting that any one who should know, or strongly suspect, any guilt in the queen, might, within twenty days, disclose it to the king or council, without incurring the penalty of any former law against defaming the queen; though at the same time every one was prohibited from spreading

ing the matter abroad, or even privately whispering it to others. It was also enacted, that if the king married any woman who had been incontinent, taking her for a true maid, she should be guilty of treason if she did not previously reveal her guilt to him.

These laws afforded diversion to the people, who now said that the king must look out for a widow, as no reputed maid would ever be persuaded to incur the penalty of the statute. This in truth happened to be the case at last: for, about a year after the death of Catherine Howard, he married, for his sixth wife, Catherine Parr, widow of Nevil lord Latimer. This lady, being somewhat inclined to the doctrines of the reformation, and, having the boldness to tell her husband her mind upon the subject, had liked to have shared the fate of the rest. The furious monarch, incapable of bearing the least contradiction, instantly complained to Bishop Gardiner, who inflamed the quarrel as much as possible; so that at last the king consented that articles of impeachment should be drawn up against her. But these were rendered abortive by the prudence and address of the queen.

Henry VIII. having brought about the reformation of England, wanted his nephew, the King of Scotland, to adopt his measures. He therefore desired an interview with him at York, and for that purpose went thither; but the clergy of Scotland had such an influence over King James, that they dissuaded him from meeting King Henry; which so highly affronted him, that the next year he resolved on a war with Scotland.

He first sent an embassy to France to renew his alliance with King Francis, to prevent the Scots from receiving any assistance from thence. But the French king did not seem at all disposed to a compliance, as there had lately been some skirmishes, near Calais, between the troops of the two nations, and several ships taken by the subjects of both kings. However, France being soon after engaged in a war with the emperor, Henry

profecuted his design against Scotland. He began by setting up his claim to the sovereignty of Scotland. King James, apprised of the preparations making against him, sent an embassy to Henry ; but he, not being satisfied with them, sent the Duke of Norfolk into Scotland with an army of twenty thousand men, the latter end of October, 1542; which, being arrived in Scotland, set fire to some of the open towns and villages, and then retired back to the barrier-town of Berwick. Upon this the Scottish king ordered Lord Maxwell to make reprisals on the side of Carlisle. But soon after, removing the command of his army to one of his favourites, Oliver Sinclair, his nobility and generals were disgusted, and began to mutiny, and five hundred English horse appearing about the same time in sight, which they apprehended was the Duke of Norfolk and the whole English army coming to attack them, they immediately ran away. This encouraged the English horse to pursue them, who killed a great many of them in their retreat, took seven noblemen, two hundred gentlemen, and eight hundred soldiers, prisoners; besides all their artillery and baggage.

King James was so affected with this loss and disgrace, that his death, which happened soon after, is said to have been occasioned by it. He left but one child, a daughter named Mary (afterwards mother to King James I. of England, and beheaded by Queen Elizabeth), about a week old. Henry soon after proposed a match between his son Edward and this infant queen; but it did not take effect, through the management of the dowager-queen, and Cardinal Beaton. King Henry therefore next year, made a formal declaration of war against Scotland, and entered into an alliance with the emperor against France. France, to help herself against the emperor, entered into an alliance with the Turks. The next year, the English invaded Scotland both by sea and land. The land-army took Leith and Edinburgh, and ravaged the whole country,

country, and then withdrew to Berwick. And now the Earl of Lenox being disgusted at the French and Scottish courts, together with the Earl of Glencairne, made a treaty with Henry. In consequence of this treaty, Lenox, with a squadron of English ships, and five or six hundred men, sailed to the islands of Bute, Arran, and Kentire, and, having plundered them, returned to England.

In the mean time, the English army again ravaged the borders of Scotland. This made the Scots more averse to the proposed marriage. They, however, being defeated in several succeeding engagements, Henry thought he might without fear of them send over a body of troops to Calais. He accordingly did so, under the command of the Duke of Norfolk; who, being arrived there, joined a detachment of the Imperialists, commanded by the Count de Bure, and laid siege to Montreuil. This expedition was followed by the king himself, in July, with a design to join the emperor's forces, and, at the head of an hundred thousand men, to march directly to Paris. But, the emperor making some objections to this, Henry perceived it was not his intention to fulfil his treaty with him. He therefore joined the Duke of Norfolk, who had invested Bologne, the 19th of July. The king arrived there the 26th of the same month, and the place surrendered on the 14th of September, when, leaving a strong garrison in it, under the command of Admiral Dudley, he returned to England. The dauphin coming there, with forty thousand men, before the English had time to repair the breaches, surprised the lower town, but the English garrison in the upper town soon drove him out again. In the interim, the emperor negotiated a truce with the French king, without including Henry in it, which was ratified after the taking of Bologne.

The French, having now no enemy to cope with but England, meditated the reduction of all those places

in France, subject to the English crown. They first attempted to build a fort at the mouth of the harbour of Bologne, but the English governor forced them to give over the work before it was finished. The French next fitted out a fleet, which, with ships hired from the Genoese and other powers, amounted to two or three hundred sail. They sailed to the Kentish coast, in quest of the English fleet, which, consisting only of sixty sail, made but a small resistance, and then retreated to Sandwich, whither the French did not think proper to pursue them. The French then steered for the Isle of Wight, where they made a descent, as they did afterwards on the coast of Sussex, where they burnt some villages. But, being encountered by the English forces, they were obliged to betake themselves to their shipping. And the English fleet, being now augmented to upwards of an hundred sail, put out to sea, attacked the French, and, after an engagement of two or three hours, forced them to retreat to their own coasts, whither they pursued them, and, making a descent in Normandy, ravaged the whole country. Rapin styles this the greatest effort France had ever made at sea. Naval historians think, that ships of war were not, at this time, provided with gun port-holes, as at present; but that a few cannon were placed on the upper decks; also on their prow and poop: fighting with cannon on ship-board being just then introduced. As the English had now recovered the empire of the sea, the French again attempted to erect a fort at the mouth of the harbour of Bologne, to cut the town off from receiving any relief by sea.

The workmen employed on this occasion, were protected by an army of 200,000 men, designed afterwards to lay siege to the town. But, before the first design could be carried into execution, the French commander, Marshal de Biez, being informed that King Henry had put to sea with a large army, and was joined by ten or twelve thousand Germans, designing

signing to give him battle, the marshal desisted from building the fort, and marched off with his army. But the French needed not to have been so frightened, for in fact the king's intention was only to transport ten or fifteen thousand men to Calais and Bologne, to reinforce the garrisons there. Francis, being at this time likely to be involved in a war with the emperor, would willingly have concluded a peace with Henry, but, being unable to bring it about, sent five thousand men over to Scotland, under the command of Siegneur Lorges, to assist the Scots to invade England. Being joined by ten thousand Scots, they marched towards the borders of England, but, hearing of the approach of the Earl of Hertford, they retired and dispersed, remembering what they had before suffered by provoking Henry.

The French being thus disappointed, and unable to recover Bologne, strengthened the neighbouring garrisons, supplying them with provisions and warlike stores; but, one of their convoys advancing pretty near Bologne, the English governor sallied out and attacked them, but, being repulsed, was obliged to retire into the town in great confusion. Henry, highly displeased at the governor's ill conduct, sent over Lord Grey to take the command from him. The French afterwards formed a design to cut off the communication between Calais and Bologne, but Henry, being informed of this, ordered the Earl of Hertford to post himself, with ten thousand men, between the two towns. The earl ordered several redoubts and lines to be cast up; which were finished a day or two before the arrival of the French, and thereby prevented the execution of their design. Soon after peace was concluded between England and France, that they might be able to frustrate the emperor's views towards an universal monarchy. By this treaty, concluded June 7, 1546, it was agreed that France should pay to England the annual tribute of an hundred thousand pounds due to England by
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the treaty of 1525, together with the tribute of salt, at ten thousand pounds per annum; that France should pay to England at Michaelmas 1554, two millions of crowns, part whereof was the arrears of tribute, and the rest for the charges the English had been at in taking Bologne.

All this time Henry had tyrannized over his nobility in the most cruel manner. The old Countess of Salisbury, the last of the house of Plantagenet, was executed with circumstances of great cruelty. She had been condemned, as usual, without any trial; and, when she was brought to the scaffold, refused to lay her head on the block in obedience to a sentence, to the justice of which she had never consented. She told the executioner, therefore, that, if he would have her head, he must win it the best way he could; and thus she ran about the scaffold, pursued by the executioner, who aimed many fruitless blows at her neck before he was able to put an end to her life. Soon after her, the lord Leonard Grey was likewise executed for treason; but we have very little account of this transaction.

The last instances of the king's injustice and cruelty were the Duke of Norfolk and his son the Earl of Surrey. The former had served the king with fidelity, and the latter was a young man of the most promising hopes. His qualifications, however, were no security against the violence of Henry's temper. He had dropped some expressions of resentment against the king's ministers, who had displaced him from the government of Bologne; and the whole family had become obnoxious on account of the late queen, Catherine Howard. From these motives, orders were given to arrest both the father and son; and accordingly they were arrested both on the same day, and confined in the Tower. The Duchess-dowager of Richmond, Surrey's own sister, was among the number of his accusers; and Sir Richard Southwell also, his most intimate friend, charged him with infidelity to the king.

Surrey

Surrey denied the charge, and challenged his accuser to single combat. This favour was denied him; and, notwithstanding his eloquent and spirited defence, he was condemned, and executed at Tower-hill.---The Duke of Norfolk vainly endeavoured to mollify the king by letters and submissions: an attainder was found against him, though the only crime his accusers could alledge was, that he had once said the king was sickly and could not hold out long; and that the kingdom was likely to be torn between the contending parties of different persuasions. Cranmer, though engaged for many years in an opposite party to that of Norfolk, and though he had received many and great injuries from him, would have no hand in such an unjust prosecution; but retired to his seat at Croydon. The death-warrant, however, was made out, and immediately sent to the lieutenant of the Tower; but a period was put to the cruelties and violence of the king by his death, which happened in the thirtieth year of his reign on the 14th of January 1547, the night before Norfolk was to have been executed.

No age, or nation, perhaps, was ever visited with a more remorseless tyrant than Henry VIII. Throughout his long and oppressive reign, his will supplied the place of law. To gratify whatever caprice was predominant, torture and death continually followed in his train; his laws, like those of Draco, may be said to have been written in blood. He caused two of his queens, as we have seen, to suffer death on a scaffold; one of them, for no other crime, than having too much vivacity for the morose humour of a man, habituated to deliberate and wanton murders. Providence, by this reign, shews how inscrutable are her ways; a happy concurrence of events converted the acts of despotism of this monarch into a foundation for the religious liberty which this country at present enjoys; and the natural spirit of the nation expanded itself, even under the restraints of tyranny. Henry VIII. reigned

thirty-seven years and nine months; and died at the age of fifty-five.

Henry VIII. before he became corpulent, was a prince of a goodly personage, and commanding aspect, rather imperious than dignified. He excelled in all the exercises of youth, and possessed a good understanding, which was not much improved by the nature of his education. Instead of learning that philosophy which opens the mind, and extends the qualities of the heart, he was confined to the study of gloomy and scholastic disquisitions, which served to cramp the ideas, and pervert the faculties of reason, qualifying him for the disputant of a cloister, rather than the law-giver of a people. In the first years of his reign, his pride and vanity seemed to domineer over all his other passions; though from the beginning he was impetuous, headstrong, impatient of contradiction and advice. He was rash, arrogant, prodigal, vain-glorious, pedantic, and superstitious. He delighted in pomp and pageantry, the baubles of a weak mind. His passions, soothed by adulation, rejected all restraint; and, as he was an utter stranger to the finer feelings of the soul, he gratified them at the expence of justice and humanity, without remorse or compunction. He wrested the supremacy from the Bishop of Rome, partly on conscientious motives, and partly for reasons of state and convenience. He suppressed the monasteries, in order to supply his extravagance with their spoils: but he would not have made those acquisitions so easily, had they not been productive of advantage to his nobility, and agreeable to the nation in general. He was frequently at war; but the greatest conquest he obtained was over his own parliament and people. Religious disputes had divided them into two factions. He was rapacious, arbitrary, froward, fretful, and so cruel that he seemed to delight in the blood of his subjects. He never betrayed the least symptoms of any tenderness in his disposition; and
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seemed to live in defiance of censure, whether ecclesiastical or secular: he died in apprehension of futurity, and was buried at Windsor with idle processions, and childish pageantry, which in those days passed for real taste and magnificence.

The most material naval and commercial events, not already taken notice of, are the following:

We find, by the most laborious Hakluyt, in his second volume, that there was some commerce from England, and in English ships, at this time, to the Mediterranean sea, as far as Isle of Chio, in the Levant. The ships employed in this trade sailed from the ports of London, Southampton, and Bristol, to Sicily and Candia; frequently touching at Cyprus; also at Tripoli and Barutti, in Syria. The articles of merchandize, which they exported to these places, were woollen cloths, calf-skins, &c. in exchange for which they received silks, camblets, rhubarb; Malmsey, Muscadel, and other wines; oils, cotton-wool, Turkey carpets; galls and spices from India. Besides the trade carried on to these places in English bottoms, many foreign ships were freighted from England, and on account of English merchants. A voyage to the Levant was, at this time, looked upon as very dangerous, and was always found to be very tedious, it generally taking up eleven or twelve months.

Some private merchants, being patronized by the king, fitted two ships in 1536, in order to discover a north-west passage to China. In their route they touched at Cape Breton and Newfoundland; and, though they failed in making the discovery on which they were bent, yet this voyage served to promote the very beneficial fishery of the English on the Banks of Newfoundland.

In the year 1513, Henry VIII. built a magazine and store-house, for the royal navy, at Deptford, and fortified Gravesend and Tilbury.

In Hakluyt's third volume, he mentions a voyage made in the year 1516, by Sir Thomas Port vice-admiral of England, and Sebastian Cabot, from England to the coasts of Brazil, and other parts of South America, by order of the king; but gives no particulars of it. It appears, that about this time there was a considerable woollen manufacture carried on in Spain, which has since fallen into utter decay, on account of the quantity of specie brought into the kingdom from the New World, and the vast defection of the most useful subjects from Spain, who settled in their American colonies.

A. D. 1531, the king published a proclamation obliging foreign merchants, resorting to England with their merchandize, to lay out the money they received in England for their merchandize in the commodities of England. A similar statute had been enacted in the reign of Richard III.

According to Lord Herbert, great ordnance of brass, such as canon and culverins, was first cast in England in the year 1536; before which time they had always been imported from foreign parts.

In the year 1544, Henry VIII. built Dover pier, at the expence of sixty-five thousand pounds.

In the year 1546, the first law was enacted to regulate the interest of money, at that time called usury: the distinction between equitable and exorbitant interest not then subsisting; but all interest, however moderate, for the loan of money, being decreed by the clergy; but by this statute, ten per cent. per annum, for money borrowed, was declared legal. In the reign of Edward VI. this act was repealed, and the taking of any kind of interest for money declared unlawful, and fine and imprisonment decreed for such offence.

In this reign lived Thomas Sulmo, a famous geographer and antiquarian. Also George Lilly, son of William the famous grammarian, who lived some time at Rome, with Cardinal Pole, and published the
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first exact map that was ever drawn of the Island of Great-Britain.

EDWARD VI. Henry the Eighth's son by Jane Seymour his third wife, was only nine years of age when he succeeded to the crown, on the death of his father, A. D. 1547; by whose will a regency was appointed, consisting of sixteen persons; among whom were Cranmer, then archbishop of Canterbury; the Earl of Hertford, chamberlain; and Viscount Lisle, admiral. To these were added twelve counsellors, who possessed no immediate power, and could only assist with their advice, when any affair was laid before them. It was immediately found necessary to select from the body, which composed the regency, one, who should bear the title of protector of the realm, and who should be invested with the exterior marks of supremacy; should receive foreign ambassadors, and transmit instructions to the English ministers at foreign courts; but who should be subject, at the same time, to the controul of the whole body. The Earl of Hertford, who was King Edward's maternal uncle, was chosen to this station. Several new dignities were conferred on this occasion: the protector was created Duke of Somerset, marshal, and lord-treasurer; the Viscount Lisle, Earl of Warwick, who resigned his office of admiral, in which he was succeeded by Sir Thomas Seymour, brother to the protector, who became Lord Seymour of Sudley.

The protector, who was a favourer of the doctrines of Luther, instilled the same sentiments into the young king, whose mother had embraced the same opinions. One of the early acts of the regency, therefore, was, to cause a general visitation of the churches to be made, which produced a reformation of numberless abuses that were almost held sacred by prescription. It was now left to every one's choice, either to go to confession, which had, till then, been esteemed an in-

dispensable duty, or to neglect that practice. It was directed, that all images should be taken out of churches; priests were allowed to marry; the old form of mass was abolished; and a new liturgy composed, which has undergone but a few alterations, quite down to the present time. The person who opposed, with greatest authority, any further advances towards reformation, was Gardiner bishop of Winchester. This prelate expatiated on the great wisdom and learning of the late king, and insisted on the propriety of persevering in the ecclesiastical model formed by that prince, at least until the present king's majority should arrive. He defended the use of images, which were now openly attacked by the protestants; representing them as serviceable in maintaining a sense of religion among the illiterate multitude. He even condescended to write an apology for holy water, which Bishop Ridley had decried in a sermon; and he maintained, that by the power of the Almighty it might be rendered an instrument of doing good; as much as the shadow of St. Peter, the hem of Christ's garment, or the spittle and clay laid on the eyes of the blind.

But, to the disgrace of their own principles, the reformers now shewed that they could persecute as severely as the papists had formerly persecuted them. Gardiner was committed to the Fleet-prison, where he was treated with great severity. He was afterwards sent to the Tower; and, having continued there two years, he was commanded to subscribe to several articles, among which was one confessing the justice of his own imprisonment. To all the articles but this he agreed to subscribe: but that did not give satisfaction. He was then committed to close custody; his books and papers were seized; all company was denied him, and he was not even permitted the use of pen and ink. The Bishops of Chichester, Worcester, and Exeter, were in like manner deprived of their offices; but the Bishops of Landaff, Salisbury, and Coventry, escaped by sa-

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crificing the most considerable share of their revenues. The libraries of Westminster and Oxford were ordered to be ransacked, and purged of the Romish legends, missals, and other superstitious volumes: in which search great devastation was made even in useful literature. Many volumes clasped in silver were destroyed for the sake of their rich bindings; many of geometry and astronomy were supposed to be magical, and destroyed on that account; while the members of the university, unable to put a stop to these ravages, trembled for their own safety.

The reformers, however, were not contented with severities of this kind. A commission was granted to the primate and others, to search after all anabaptists, heretics, or contemners of the new liturgy. Among the numbers who were found guilty upon this occasion, was one Joan Boucher, commonly called Joan of Kent; who was so very obstinate, that the commissioners could make no impression upon her. She maintained an abstruse metaphysical sentiment, that Christ, as man, was a sinful man; but, as the word, he was free from sin, and could be subject to none of the frailties of the flesh with which he was clothed. For maintaining this doctrine the poor woman was condemned to be burnt to death as an heretic. The young king, who, it seems, had more sense than his teachers, refused at first to sign the death-warrant; but at last, being overcome by the importunities of Cranmer, he reluctantly complied; declaring, that, if he did wrong, the sin should be on the head of those who persuaded him to it. The primate, after making another unsuccessful effort to reclaim the woman from her opinions, committed her to the flames. Some time after, one Van Paris, a Dutchman, was condemned to death for Arianism. He suffered with so much satisfaction, that he hugged and caressed the faggots that were consuming him.

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The Duke of Somerset no sooner found himself settled in his new dignity, than he made such preparations for a war with Scotland, as indicated his intention of entirely reducing the country, rather than to bring about a marriage between Mary queen of Scots, and the young King Edward, which was the avowed object. The army, consisting of ten thousand foot, and six thousand horse, and a fine train of artillery, was commanded by the protector in person; and his brother, the admiral, collected a fleet of sixty-five sail, thirty-five of which were ships of force; the rest store-ships and tenders. The command of this naval armament was intrusted to Lord Clinton, who was admiral of the North Seas; and Sir William Woodhouse, vice-admiral. They appeared before Leith much about the same time that the English army entered Scotland by land.

The protector, before he commenced any act of hostility, published a manifesto, shewing his reasons for these proceedings, and inviting the government of Scotland to accede to an alliance which promised such advantages to both parties. But these conciliatory measures were rendered inefficacious by the queen-dowager, who was devoted both to the interest of France and to the catholic religion. The Earl of Arran, governor of Scotland, collected together the whole force of the kingdom; so that he found himself at the head of an army which greatly outnumbered the English. He encamped within four miles of Edinburgh; whilst the Duke of Somerset approached within sight of his camp. On surveying the situation which the Scotch general had chosen, he found it unadvisable to attack the enemy; he, therefore, wrote a letter to the governor, in which he offered to evacuate the kingdom, as well as to repair all the damages he had committed, provided the Scotch would stipulate not to contract the queen to any foreign prince, but to keep her at home, until she arrived at
years

years capable of choosing a husband. The governor, who was entirely in the French interest, shewed this letter to none but his own creatures, who advised him, since he had a numerous army, with the flower of the nobility, in the field, not to listen to any conditions of peace, but to force the English to a battle. Inflamed also by their priests, who had come to the camp in great numbers, they believed that the English were detestable heretics, abhorred of God, and exposed to divine vengeance; and that no success could ever crown their arms. These enthusiasts were confirmed in their fond conceit, when they saw the protector change his ground, and move towards the sea: nor did they any longer doubt, that he intended to embark his army, and make his escape on-board the ships, which at that very time moved into the bay, opposite to him. Bent upon cutting off his retreat, they quitted their camp, and, passing the river Elke, advanced into the plain. This rash conduct brought on a decisive engagement, on the 10th of September, 1547; which, in some English histories, is styled the battle of Muffelburgh; but the Scotch writers call it the battle of Pinkey, from a nobleman's feat in that neighbourhood. It proved fatal to the Scotch, notwithstanding their superiority in numbers; their army amounting to upwards of thirty thousand men. Such was their eagerness to engage, that they neglected all the precautions usually taken, with regard to ground, and every other circumstance. And so strongly were they actuated by the delusion that had seized them, that they exposed themselves to the fire of the English fleet, which swept away great numbers. In this action fourteen thousand Scots were slain, and eight hundred noblemen and gentlemen were made prisoners. From the field of battle to Edinburgh, for the space of five miles, the whole ground was strewed with dead bodies. The priests and the monks, above all, received no quarter; and the

the English made sport of slaughtering men, who, from their extreme zeal and animosity, had engaged in an enterprize so ill befitting their profession. Few victories have been more decisive, or gained with less loss to the conquerors. There fell not two hundred of the English. After this victory the Duke of Somerset marched to Edinburgh, which he plundered; but being pressed to return to England, on account of the posture of affairs there, he did not push his advantages to the utmost, but soon quitted the country.

The fleet, under Lord Clinton, continued longer on that coast, having no less an object in view than to destroy the whole naval force of Scotland; and the admiral fully accomplished his purpose; laying all the sea-ports in ashes; and he is said not to have left one ship of force in the whole kingdom.

The next year the high admiral, Lord Seymour, with a stout fleet, cruised along the coasts of Scotland, to prevent the refitting of the harbours, and to annoy the country by farther depredations: but in this expedition he proved rather unsuccessful; for, though he twice landed a large body of troops, yet he was as often repulsed. The great hardships which the people had endured, rendered them desperate; so that, notwithstanding the vast expences England had been at, and the complete victory which had been gained, the Queen of Scots found means to pass over into France, thereby baffling all the views of the English regency; and, the French pouring great succours into Scotland, the English, after two years ineffectual conflict, were obliged to agree to terms of peace; France alone having obtained her ends by this destructive contest; the young queen being contracted in marriage to the dauphin.

In the year 1549, the rapine of the nobility and gentry in England occasioned two great insurrections in England. The people, half starved and impoverished, arose in Devonshire and Cornwall, to the number

ber of ten thousand, headed by a Cornish gentleman, named Arundel. They besieged Exeter, set fire to one of the gates, and stormed the place with great fury. But, being repulsed by the inhabitants, turned the siege into a blockade. Yet the besieged held out with amazing resolution, and submitted to feeding upon dead horses, and other coarse diet, rather than surrender. And at last were relieved by the Lords Russell and Gray, who, with an army of English and Germans, attacked and defeated the rebels.

The rebels in Norfolk were still more numerous, being twenty thousand strong. Their commander was one Ket, a tanner. The Marquis of Northampton was sent down with a thousand men to watch his motions, and drive him out of Norwich; but was so unlucky as to be defeated by the rebels; which at once raised their spirits and reputation. It was now found necessary to send a more formidable force against them. The Earl of Warwick accordingly marched against them, with an army, designed at first against Scotland. However, he thought it most prudent not to attack them immediately, but waited till the want of provisions obliged them to separate into small bodies, to supply themselves with the necessaries of life. He then attacked one party of them after another, and killed great numbers of them, and, in the end, entirely defeated them; took a great many prisoners, particularly Ket their general, who was hanged at Norwich.

The French took this opportunity to possess themselves of the forts and places in the Bolonois; without declaring war. In September, the French king in person laid siege to Bologne. But the plague soon made him leave the siege to Admiral Coligny; who, not thinking himself able to take the town, turned the siege into a blockade. At the same time the Scots, assisted by the French, took Broughty castle. As this war was exceedingly inconvenient to the protector, he proposed in council the giving of it up, but his pro-

posaf was rejected with indignation. However, it was afterwards actually delivered up to the French, for four hundred thousand crowns of gold; when a peace was concluded with France and with Scotland.

The rest of this reign affords only the history of intrigues and cabals of the courtiers, one against another. The protector was first opposed by his own brother Admiral Sir Thomas Seymour, who had married Catharine Parr the late king's widow. She died soon after the marriage; and he then made his addressees to the Princess Elizabeth, who is said not to have been averse to the match. His brother the duke, who was at that time in the north, being informed of his ambitious projects, speedily returned, had him attainted of high treason, and at last condemned and executed. The Duke of Somerset himself, however, was some time afterwards deprived of his office by Dudley duke of Northumberland; who at last found means to get him accused of high treason, and executed. Not satisfied with the office of protector, which he assumed on the death of Somerset, this ambitious nobleman formed a scheme of engrossing the sovereign power altogether. He represented to Edward, who was now in a declining state of health, that his sisters Mary and Elizabeth, who were appointed by Henry's will to succeed, in failure of direct heirs, to the crown, had both been declared illegitimate by parliament; that the Queen of Scots, his aunt, stood excluded by the king's will; and, being an alien also, lost all right of succeeding. The three princesses being thus excluded, the succession naturally devolved to the Marchioness of Dorset, eldest daughter to the French queen, Henry's sister, who had married the Earl of Suffolk after her first husband's death. The next heir to the marchioness was Lady Jane Gray, a lady universally respected, both on account of the charms of her person and the virtues and endowments of her mind. The king, who was accustomed to submit to the politic
views

views of this minister, agreed to have the succession submitted to the council, where Northumberland hoped to procure an easy concurrence. The judges, however, who were appointed to draw up the king's letters patent for this purpose, warmly objected to the measure; and gave their reasons before the council. They begged that a parliament might be summoned, both to give it force, and to free its partisans from danger: they said that the form was invalid, and would not only subject the judges who drew it, but every counsellor who signed it, to the pains of treason. Northumberland could not brook their demurs: he threatened them with his authority, called one of them a traitor, and said he would fight with any man in his shirt in such a just cause as that of Lady Jane's succession. A method was therefore found out of screening the judges from danger, by granting them the king's pardon for what they should draw up; and at length the patent for changing the succession was completed, the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth were set aside, and the crown settled on the heirs of the Duchess of Suffolk (for she herself was contented to forego her claim).

For some time the king had languished in a consumption. After this settlement of the crown, his health visibly declined every day, and little hopes were entertained of his recovery. To make matters worse, his physicians were dismissed by Northumberland's advice, and by an order of council; and he was put into the hands of an ignorant old woman, who undertook in a little time to restore him to health. After the use of her medicines, all his bad symptoms increased to the most violent degree. He felt a difficulty of speech and breathing; his pulse failed, his legs swelled, his colour became livid, and many other signs of approaching death made their appearance. He expired at Greenwich on the 6th of July 1553, in the sixteenth year of his age, and seventh of his reign.

Edward is celebrated, by our historians, for the beauty of his person, the engaging sweetness of his disposition, his attachment to equity and justice, and the extent of his knowledge, which rendered him an object of tender affection to his people, and filled them with the flattering hopes, that his reign would be rendered illustrious by his virtues. His death was, therefore, felt as a public misfortune. This prince's capacity and application to study were so extraordinary, that at the time of his death, he understood the Greek, Latin, Italian, French, and Spanish, languages; was versed in the science of natural philosophy, logic, and music; and was master of all the theological disputes, with which the minds of men, in that age, were agitated. He kept a book, in which he wrote the characters of the chief men of the nation; taking notice of their manner of life, and their religious principles. He understood fortification, and designed well: he was also well acquainted with all the harbours and ports in his dominions, and with those of Scotland and France, with the depth of water, and the way of entering them. He had studied the business of the mint, with the exchange and value of money; and had acquired such knowledge in foreign affairs, that the ambassadors, who were sent into England, published very extraordinary accounts of him in all the courts of Europe. To assist his memory, he took notes of every thing he heard worth notice, which he wrote first in Greek characters, that they might be unintelligible to those about him; and afterwards copied out fair in his journal. This journal, written with his own hand, is in the British Museum, and was transcribed by Bishop Burnet, who published it in the second volume of his History of the Reformation.

Before we dismiss this period, it will be proper to say something concerning Sebastian Cabot, who has been already named in the voyage which was undertaken by his father John Cabot in the year 1497; and

and likewise for a voyage which he himself undertook in the reign of Henry VIII. in conjunction with Sir Thomas Port, or Pert, then vice-admiral of England; but in the latter enterprize nothing of consequence was effected. Soon after this, Sebastian Cabot went over to Spain, and entered into the service of the most catholic king, who appointed him his pilot-major, or chief pilot. In the year 1525 he sailed from Spain, with a design to follow the track which Magelhaen had marked out, to the East Indies, through the straits that intersect the southern extremity of America, and across the South Sea; but, arriving at the Brazils, he proceeded up the river of Plate; giving names to several places, as well as to some rivers, which he met with in his progress, quite up to the extensive country called Paraguay. He returned to Spain in 1531. Cabot, some few years after this voyage to South America, quitted the service of Spain, and, returning to England, settled at Bristol, the place of his birth. In the beginning of the reign of Edward VI. he was introduced to the Duke of Somerset, who shewed him particular favour, and recommended him to the young king, who highly relished the conversation of this voyager. Edward himself, notwithstanding his tender years, is said to have been an adept in the studies to which Cabot had applied himself. It is not surprising, therefore, that, with such a prince, Cabot should be in high esteem; or that a new office should be created, for the purpose of investing him with a salary equivalent to that which he had enjoyed in Spain. Accordingly, the annual sum of one hundred and sixty-six pounds thirteen shillings and four-pence was granted him by letters patent, dated the 6th of January, 1549. Thenceforward he continued highly in the king's favour, and was consulted in all matters relating to trade; particularly in the great cause of the merchants of the Steel-yard, in 1551, of which we have already given an account. In May 1552, the king

king granted a license, with letters of safe conduct, to such persons as should embark on-board three ships, to be employed for the discovery of a passage, by the north, to the East Indies. Sebastian Cabot was, at that time, governor of the company of Merchant-adventurers; by his advice this enterprize was undertaken; and, by his interest at court, the above license was obtained.

Sebastian Cabot is supposed by Mr. Campbell to have died about the year 1556, in the beginning of which year he was very active in the affairs of a company of merchants trading to Russia, since styled the Russia Company; after which time no farther mention is made of him by any writer. He was unquestionably one of the most extraordinary men of the age in which he lived; and, by his capacity and industry, contributed greatly to the service of mankind in general, and of this kingdom particularly. He was the first who took notice of the variation of the compass, a discovery of signal use in navigation, and concerning which the learned have busied themselves in enquiries ever since.

Towards the latter end of the reign of Edward VI. a company of merchants was formed for the discovery of unknown countries: this society was probably first formed by Sebastian Cabot. Sir Hugh Willoughby was appointed to the command of this enterprize, and sailed with three ships, which ended very unfortunately; many of those on-board, as well as the commander, being frozen to death, in latitude 72 degrees. A better fate, however, attended one of the three ships, which was commanded by Richard Chancellor; for, passing the North Cape to the westward, he fell into the Bay of St. Nicholas, or the White Sea, on the Russian coast, being the first European ship that ever visited those parts. He landed at the abbey of St. Nicholas, near Archangel; and, whilst he continued here, obtained an audience of the czar John Bazilowitz,

witz, who very readily promoted the views of the English, in establishing a trade with Russia. Nor was it the only advantage derived from this abortive attempt to find out a north-east passage to China; for it pointed out to the English the way to the whale-fishery at Spitsbergen, which was soon after undertaken.

At the same time we find, from Hakluyt, three ships from Portsmouth trading for gold along the coast of Guinea; but only one returned home from the voyage. Afterwards the English made several voyages to Guinea, and brought home from thence great quantities of gold-dust, and elephants' teeth; notwithstanding which, until the negro-trade was found essential for the cultivation of the West-India islands, (how unwarrantable soever it may be deemed by many in a moral view,) no considerable trade to that coast could have been long carried on with much advantage, as the country produces few articles for commerce, and stands in little need of the produce of other nations.

It appears, that the first mention made of iron bullets is in an acquittance for delivery of the artillery and ammunition of Bologne, in this reign. Stone bullets were constantly made use of before this time, and remained in use, partially, long after.

In the year 1551, the privileges and immunities which had been enjoyed by the German merchants of the Steel-yard, in London, almost for time immemorial, were revoked by the king and council. The cities of Antwerp and Hamburgh possessed the principal commerce of the northern and middle parts of Europe; and their factors, at the Steel-yard, set what prices they pleased on their imports and exports; and having the command of all the markets in England, and great wealth, consisting in their joint stock, whoever attempted to oppose this body was sure to draw down ruin on his own head. These Hanseatics were likewise charged with much rapacity and unfair dealing,

ing, whereby the revenue was defrauded; and, as the foreign commerce of England now became more diffused, such practices could be no longer tolerated: this destructive monopoly was, therefore, restricted within more reasonable limits.

Several remonstrances were made against this innovation, by Lubec, Hamburgh, and other Hanse-towns; but the council persevered in their resolution, and the good effects of it soon became visible to the nation. The English merchants, by their very situation as natives, had advantages above foreigners, in the purchase of cloth, wool, and other commodities; though these advantages had not hitherto been sufficient to rouse their industry, or engage them to become rivals to this opulent company: but, when aliens' duty was alike imposed upon all foreigners indiscriminately, the English were tempted to enter into commerce; and a spirit of industry began to appear in the kingdom.

In the same year a commercial treaty was entered into with Gustavus Eriscon, king of Sweden; by which it was stipulated, that, if he sent bullion into England, he should be privileged to export from thence English commodities, duty free: but it seems to have been a condition on which this immunity was granted, that he should carry out his bullion to no other country, or state; but that England should be, exclusively, supplied with it. If the King of Sweden sent ozimus, steel, copper, &c. he should pay no other customs for English commodities than those which were exacted of the natives of England. Farther, if he sent any other kind of merchandize, his subjects should have free liberty to dispose thereof, paying the customs levied on strangers.

The bullion sent over by Sweden, though it could not be in great quantities, was sufficient to employ the mint. Good specie was coined; and much of the base metal, formerly issued, was recalled. A circumstance

stance which tended greatly to the advancement of commerce.

QUEEN MARY may be said to have begun her reign from this time, 1553, for very little regard was paid to the new patent by which Lady Jane Gray had been declared heir to the throne. The undoubted title of Mary, notwithstanding the scandalous behaviour of her father and his servile parliaments, was acknowledged by the whole nation. Northumberland, however, was resolved to put the late king's will in execution. He therefore carefully concealed the death of Edward, in hopes of securing the person of Mary, who by an order of council had been required to attend her brother during his illness; but she, being informed of his death, immediately prepared to assert her right to the crown. Northumberland then, accompanied by the Duke of Suffolk, the Earl of Pembroke, and some other noblemen, saluted Lady Jane Gray Queen of England. Jane was in a great measure ignorant of these transactions, and it was with the utmost difficulty she was persuaded to accept of the dignity conferred upon her. At last she complied, and suffered herself to be conveyed to the Tower, where it was then usual for the sovereigns of England to pass some days after their accession. Among the precautions taken by the duke to secure the crown to his party, one of the principal was, to send a squadron of six ships to lie before the port of Yarmouth, to prevent the Princess Mary, who was preparing to assert her right to the succession, from escaping out of the kingdom. But this force no sooner appeared on their station, than it was prevailed on to declare in favour of Queen Mary. Mary in a very few days found herself at the head of forty thousand men; and Lady Jane resigned the sovereignty in ten days, with much more pleasure than she had received it. She retired with her mother to their own habitation; and Northumberland, finding his affairs

quite desperate, attempted to quit the kingdom. But he was stopped by the band of pensioner guards, who informed him that he must stay to justify their conduct in taking arms against their lawful sovereign. He therefore surrendered himself to Mary; and was soon after executed, together with Sir John Gates and Sir Thomas Palmer, two infamous tools of his power. Sentence was also pronounced against Lady Jane Gray and her husband Lord Guildford; but without any intention of putting it in execution against them at present, as their youth and innocence pleaded so strongly in their favour, neither of them having yet reached their 17th year.

Mary now entered London, and was peaceably settled on the throne without any effusion of blood. The English, however, soon found reason to repent their attachment to her cause. Though she had at first solemnly promised to defend the religion and laws of her predecessor, she no sooner saw herself firmly established on the throne, than she resolved to restore the Popish religion, and give back their former power to the clergy. Gardiner, Bonnar, and the other bishops who had been imprisoned or suffered loss during the last reign, were taken from prison, reinstated in their sees, and now triumphed in their turn. On pretence of discouraging controversy, the queen by her prerogative silenced all preachers throughout England, except such as should obtain a particular license, and this she was resolved to give only to those of her own persuasion. The greater part of the foreign Protestants took the first opportunity of leaving the kingdom; and many of the arts and manufactures, which they had successfully introduced, fled with them. Soon after, the queen called a parliament, which seemed willing to concur in all her measures. They at once repealed all the statutes with regard to religion that had passed during the reign of Edward VI. and the national religion

ligion was again placed on the same footing in which it had been at the death of Henry VIII.

To strengthen the cause of the Catholics, and give the queen more power to establish the religion to which she was so much attached, a proper match was to be sought for her; and it was supposed that three had already been proposed as candidates for her favour. Her affection seemed to be engaged by the Earl of Devonshire; but, as he was rather attached to the Princess Elizabeth, he received the overtures which were made him from the queen with neglect. The next person mentioned as a proper match for her was Cardinal Pole, a man greatly respected for his virtues; but, as he was now in the decline of life, Mary soon dropped all thoughts of that alliance. At last she cast her eye on Philip II. of Spain, son to the Emperor Charles V. He was then in the 27th year of his age, and consequently agreeable in that respect to Mary, who was in her 38th year; but, when her intentions with regard to this match became known, the greatest alarm took place throughout the whole nation. The commons presented such a strong remonstrance against a foreign alliance, that the queen thought proper to dissolve the parliament in order to get quit of their importunity. To obviate, however, all clamour, the articles of marriage were drawn up as favourably as possible for the interests of England. It was agreed, that, though Philip should have the title of king, the administration should be entirely in the queen; that no foreigner should be capable of holding any office in the kingdom; nor should any innovation be made in the laws, customs, and privileges of the people; that Philip should not carry the queen abroad without her consent, or any of her children without the consent of the nobility. Sixty thousand pounds a-year were to be settled upon her as a jointure; and the male issue of this marriage were to inherit Burgundy and the Low Countries as well as the crown of England: and in case of the death of

Don Carlos, Philip's son by his former marriage, without any heir, the queen's issue should inherit all the rest of the Spanish dominions also.

All these concessions, however, were not sufficient to quiet the apprehensions of the people: they were considered merely as words of course, which might be retracted at pleasure; and the whole nation murmured loudly against a transaction so dangerous to its ancient liberty and independence. An insurrection was raised by Sir Thomas Wyatt, a Roman Catholic, at the head of four thousand men. The rebels marched to Maidstone, and from thence to Rochester-bridge, where they purposed to make a stand, till reinforced by some others. The Duke of Norfolk, with two hundred horse, and six hundred of the train bands from London, being sent against them, and the sheriff of Kent at the same time falling upon one Knevet, and his party, who were going to join Wyatt, and defeating them, Wyatt began to think his project would fail. But some of his men pretending to go over to the duke, persuaded the citizens to join their cause; and now the Duke of Norfolk, being thus deserted, was obliged to retreat with his horse. On the other hand, Wyatt's party quickly increased to six or seven thousand men; this encouraged him to march immediately to London. As soon as the queen heard he was got to Deptford, she sent to know his demands; but, when she understood that he had the assurance to require that she should put herself and the Tower into his hands, she immediately addressed herself to the citizens of London, and, having engaged them to her interest, fortified the bridge, placing such troops there and at the Tower as she knew she could trust. Wyatt finding he could not enter by the bridge, which was barricadoed up, he would have passed over the Thames in boats; but, as there were none on the Surrey side, he marched to Kingston, repaired the bridge, which had been purposely broken down, and proceeded towards Westminster,

minster, without any opposition, till the last day's march, when, suffering his men to divide into two bodies, on their approach to the city of Westminster, they were met by the queen's troops, who cut them off one after another. But Wyat, with five hundred men, advanced by Charing-Cross to Ludgate, when, finding the gate shut, he, in a fit of despair, voluntarily surrendered himself to one of the heralds, and was carried prisoner to the queen's palace at Westminster. A pair of gallows was erected in every great street and public place about London, on which were hanged fifty-eight of Wyat's accomplices, six hundred more, with halters about their necks, were sent to Westminster to beg for mercy, and were accordingly pardoned by the queen. Wyat was also condemned, and, though respited for some time, on a pretence of accusing the Princess Elizabeth as a party in the plot, yet was executed afterwards.

This rebellion had almost proved fatal to the Princess Elizabeth, who for some time past had been treated with great severity by her sister. Mary, who possessed a most malignant and cruel heart, had never forgot the quarrel between their mothers; and, when a declaration was made, after her own accession, recognising Queen Catharine's marriage as legal, she was thus furnished with a pretence for accounting Elizabeth illegitimate. She was likewise obnoxious on account of her religion, which Elizabeth at first had not prudence sufficient to conceal; though afterwards she learned full well to disguise her sentiments. But above all, her standing so high in the affection of the Earl of Devonshire was a crime not to be forgiven; and Mary made her sensible of her displeasure by numberless mortifications. She was ordered to take place at court after the Dukes of Suffolk and the Countess of Lennox; to avoid which, and other indignities, Elizabeth at last retired from court altogether into the country. After the suppression of Wyat's rebellion she was com-

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mitted to the Tower, and underwent a strict examination before the council; but, as Wyatt had made a declaration on the scaffold that she was in no manner of way concerned, the queen found herself under a necessity of releasing her. To get rid of such a troublesome rival, however, she was offered in marriage to the Duke of Savoy; and, on Elizabeth's declining the proposal, she was committed close prisoner to Woodstocke. The rebellion proved fatal, however, to many persons of distinction, and gave the queen an opportunity of manifesting that unbounded cruelty which reigned in her heart. The Tower, and all the prisons in the kingdom, were filled with nobility and gentry, who became objects of royal vengeance, more on account of their credit and interest with the people than any concern they were supposed to have had with Wyatt. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton was tried in Guildhall; but, as no satisfactory evidence appeared against him, the jury gave a verdict in his favour. The queen was so much enraged at this disappointment, that she re-committed him to the Tower, summoned the jury before the council, and at last sent them all to prison, fining them afterwards, some of one thousand pounds, and others of two thousand pounds, each. Sir John Throgmorton, brother to Sir Nicholas just mentioned, was condemned and executed upon evidence which had been already rejected as insufficient. But of all those who perished on this occasion, none excited more universal compassion than the unfortunate Lady Jane Gray and her husband Lord Guildford Dudley. They had already received sentence of death, as has been mentioned; and, two days after the execution of Wyatt, they received orders to prepare for eternity. Lady Jane, who had been in expectation of this blow, was no way intimidated, but received the news with the most heroic resolution. The place intended at first for their execution was Tower-hill; but the council, dreading the effects of the people's compassion for
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their youth, beauty, and innocence, gave directions that they should be beheaded within the verge of the Tower. The Duke of Suffolk was soon after tried, condemned, and executed: but would have met with more compassion, had not his ambition been the cause of his daughter's unhappy fate just mentioned. Sir Thomas Gray also lost his life on the same account: but the cruel spirit of Mary was still unsatisfied; and finding herself universally odious, that she might free herself from any apprehensions for what was past, as well as tyrannize with the more freedom in time to come, she disabled the people from resistance, by ordering general musters, and causing the commissioners to seize their arms and lay them up in forts and castles.

Notwithstanding this unpopularity, however, the rebellion of Wyatt had so strengthened the hands of government, that a parliament was assembled in hopes of gratifying the queen's wishes in regard to her marriage with Philip of Spain. To facilitate this purpose also, the Emperor of Germany sent over to England four hundred thousand crowns to be distributed among the members of parliament in bribes and pensions; a practice of which there had hitherto been no example in England. The queen, notwithstanding her bigotry, resumed the title of Supreme Head of the Church, which she had dropped three months before. Gardiner made a speech, in which he proposed, that they should invest the queen with a legal power of disposing of the crown, and appointing her successor; but the parliament, however obsequious in other respects, did not choose to gratify their sovereign in a measure by which the kingdom of England might become a province of the Spanish monarchy. They would not even declare it treason to imagine or attempt the death of the queen's husband during her life-time, though they agreed to ratify the articles of marriage. Finding therefore that the parliament even yet was not sufficiently obsequious, it was thought most proper to dissolve them.

them. The queen being determined on marrying Philip prince of Spain, in opposition to the general voice of her people, Commodore Winter was sent, with a strong squadron, to bring over the ambassadors sent by Charles V. to conclude the match. When the articles of marriage were finally adjusted, the queen caused a fleet, of twenty-eight sail, to be equipped, the command of which she had gave to the lord William Howard, whom she had created Baron of Effingham, and lord high admiral, whom she now constituted lieutenant-general, and commander in chief of her army. He was sent to sea under colour of guarding the coast, but really to escort Prince Philip, who entered the narrow seas, with a Spanish fleet of one hundred and sixty sail; his admiral carrying the Spanish flag in his main-top. The English admiral was so highly offended at this conduct, that he fired a shot, and obliged the Spaniard to take down his colours, before he would make his compliments to the prince. A noble instance of spirit, which well deserves to be commemorated!

Soon after this the marriage with Philip was solemnized; but, as the latter had espoused his queen merely with a view to become King of England, he no sooner found himself disappointed in this, than he shewed a total want of affection to her as a wife. He passed most of his time at a distance from her in the Low Countries; and seldom wrote to her except when he wanted money, with which Mary would at all times gladly have supplied him, even had it been at the expence of her kingdom, if in her power.

The enemies of the state being supposed to be suppressed, those of the Catholic religion were next persecuted. The old sanguinary laws which had been rejected by a former parliament were now revived. Orders were given, that the priests and bishops who had married should be ejected; that the mass should be restored, and the pope's authority established; and

that the church and its privileges, all but their goods and estates, should be put on the same footing on which they were before the commencement of the reformation. But, as the gentry and nobility had already divided the church-lands among them, it was thought inconvenient, and indeed impossible, to make a restoration of these. The persons who chiefly promoted these measures were Gardiner bishop of Winchester, and Cardinal Pole, who was a kinsman of Henry VIII. but had been long in Italy, and was now returned from it. The latter was for tolerating the Protestants; but the former, perceiving that rigorous measures would be most agreeable to the king and queen, declared himself against it. He was too prudent, however, to appear in person at the head of the persecution: and therefore consigned that office to Bonnar bishop of London, a man of a very abandoned character. The bloody scene began by the execution of Hooper bishop of Gloucester, and Rogers prebendary of St. Paul's. These were quickly followed by others, of whom the principal were Archbishop Cranmer, Ridley bishop of London, and Latimer bishop of Worcester. These persecutions soon became odious to the whole nation, and the perpetrators of them were all willing to throw the blame from themselves upon others. Philip endeavoured to fasten the whole reproach upon Bonnar; but that bishop would not take the whole, and therefore retorted on the court. A bold step was now taken to introduce a court similar to the Spanish inquisition, that should be empowered to try heretics, and condemn them without any other law but its own authority. But even this was thought a method too dilatory in the present exigence of affairs. A proclamation, issued against books of heresy, treason, and sedition, declared, that whosoever had such books in his possession, and did not burn them without reading, should suffer as a rebel. This was attended with the execution of such numbers, that at last the magis-

trates who had been instrumental in these cruelties refused to give their assistance any longer. It was computed that, during this persecution, two hundred and seventy-seven persons suffered by fire, besides those punished by imprisonments, fines, and confiscations. Among those who suffered by fire were five bishops, twenty-one clergymen, eight lay gentlemen, eighty-four tradesmen, one hundred husbandmen, fifty-five women, and four children.

The queen had not been two years married before an event took place, which greatly changed the face of affairs in Europe, and in which England was particularly interested. The history of every country furnishes us with many instances of subjects aspiring to be sovereigns; and, such is the fascination of a crown, that to acquire it men will desperately stake their fortunes, and their lives; but for a sovereign, inheriting, by birth, a rich and extensive kingdom; and surpassing, in greatness, every other European potentate, voluntarily to resign all his dignities, and to reduce himself to the condition of a subject, is a phenomenon in the operations of the human mind, and almost peculiar to the Emperor Charles V. This prince, whose restless desire of power had frequently spread the flames of war over Europe, at length became disgusted with the pomp and splendour of royalty, and resolved to seek that tranquillity and happiness in a private retreat, which he had sought in vain amidst the tumults of war, and the restless projects of ambition. On October 25, 1555, he summoned the states of the Netherlands, and, seating himself, for the last time, on the throne, informed his subjects of the reasons of his resignation; absolved them from their oaths of allegiance; and, after devolving his authority on Philip, told him, that his paternal tenderness made him weep, when he reflected on the burthen he laid upon him, and that the great and only duty of a prince, was to study the happiness of his people. He observed, that
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his vain schemes of extending his empire, had been the source of endless opposition, and disappointment; that this had frustrated the sole end of government; and that the felicity of the nations committed to his care, was an object, which, if steadily pursued, could alone convey a solid and lasting satisfaction. The emperor, a few months after, resigned his other dominions to Philip, and, sailing to Spain, retired into the monastery of St. Just; which, being seated in a happy climate, and amidst the greatest beauties of nature, he had chosen for his retreat. He was, however, soon sensible of the ingratitude of Philip his son, who was negligent in paying the small pension he had reserved for himself; and this gave him a sensible concern. He, however, pursued his resolution with inflexible constancy; and, in this retreat, even restrained his curiosity from enquiring into the transactions of the world he had abandoned. He employed his leisure in examining the controversies in divinity, which he had hitherto only considered in a political light; and in imitating the works of the most famous artists in mechanics; of which he had always been a great admirer and encourager. Having amused himself with the construction of clocks and watches, he thence remarked the impracticability of what had so much engaged his attention during his reign; and how impossible it was, that he who could never frame two machines that would go exactly alike, could ever be able to make all mankind agree in the same opinions. The emperor survived his retreat about two years.

By the marriage treaty between Philip and Mary, it was stipulated, that the queen's dominions should not be led to engage in any war, particularly with the crown of France, on account of any differences that might arise between the court of Spain and any other power. Notwithstanding which, when a rupture between Philip of Spain, and Henry II. of France, took place in 1557, England was presently involved in the

quarrel. The queen and her council were prevailed upon so far to forget the interest of England, as to enter into a war both with Scotland and France. To effect this, King Philip came to England, and resided there some time. From thence he proceeded to Flanders, and marched a considerable army into Bretagne, where he was joined by the Earl of Pembroke, at the head of ten thousand veteran troops, who distinguished himself greatly at the decisive battle that was fought with the French before the town of St. Quintin. After that signal victory, he greatly contributed to the taking of the town by storm. But, whilst the English arms were thus acquiring honour abroad, the country was exposed to the inroads of the Scots from the borders; whilst the trade of the kingdom suffered considerably from the swarm of privateers which issued from the different ports of Scotland, and committed great ravages in the northern seas. To revenge these insults, Sir John Clare vice-admiral of England, was sent, with twelve sail of ships, to those parts; but, making a descent on one of the Orkneys, he was defeated, and sustained a considerable loss; and, on retreating to his ships, the boat which he was on-board overfet, and himself, with several others, were drowned.

The succeeding winter proved fatal to the English possessions in France; those small remains of the great conquests which her Edwards and Henrys had made. The Duke of Guise, who, at this time, governed France, was at the head of an army in Italy, when the French were routed in the battle of St. Quintin; but, immediately on that event, he marched his troops into the heart of France, to obstruct the expected progress of Philip's victorious army. The campaign being at length closed, this vigilant and able general resolved to attempt, in the depth of winter, an enterprize which France, in her greatest prosperity, had always considered as impracticable. Calais was, in that age, esteemed an impregnable fortress; but Coligny having observed

served that it was furrounded with marshes, which were impassable in winter, except over a dyke, guarded by the castles of St. Agatha and Newnam-bridge, and that the English had been lately accustomed, at the end of autumn, to dismiss a great part of the garrison, and to restore them in the spring. Having formed the design of making a sudden attack on Calais on this circumstance, he had caused the place to be secretly viewed by some engineers: and the plan of the enterprize being found among his papers, served, notwithstanding his being made prisoner at the taking of St. Quintin, to suggest the project of that undertaking, and to direct the Duke of Guise in conducting it. Different bodies of troops having, on various pretences, marched towards the frontiers, were suddenly assembled, and formed an army, at the head of which Guise instantly marched towards Calais. Many French ships being, at the same time, ordered into the channel, under pretence of cruising on the English coast, formed a fleet, which attacked the fortifications by sea. Three thousand arquebusiers attacked St. Agatha; and, notwithstanding the garrison made a vigorous defence, soon obliged it to abandon that fortress, and retreat to Newnam-bridge, the siege of which was immediately undertaken; and, at the same time, the fleet battered the Risbank, a fortress which guarded the entrance of the harbour. Lord Wentworth, the governor of Calais, who was a brave officer, finding that the greatest part of his weak garrison was inclosed in the castle of Newnam-bridge, and the Risbank, ordered them to capitulate, and to join him in Calais, which he was unable to defend without their assistance. The garrison of Newnam-bridge was so happy as to succeed; but that of the Risbank, being unable to obtain such favourable conditions, was forced to surrender at discretion.

Calais being now blockaded both by sea and land, the Duke of Guise, to prevent any accident, instantly attacked the place, and planted his batteries against
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the castle, where he made a large breach: then ordering Andelot, Coligny's brother, to drain the fosse, he commanded an assault, and made a lodgement in the castle. The following night, Wentworth attempted to recover this post; but having lost, in a furious attack, two hundred men, he found his garrison so weak, that he was forced to capitulate. Ham and Guisnes were taken soon after; and thus the Duke of Guise, within eight days, during the depth of winter, obtained the possession of Calais, which cost Edward III. a siege of eleven months, though at the head of a numerous army, which had, just before, obtained the glorious victory of Cressy. The English had possessed this town above two hundred years; and, as it afforded them an easy entrance into France, it was considered as a very important possession to the crown of England. The joy of the French was extreme; while the English, thus bereaved of this last possession on the continent, murmured loudly against the queen and her council, who after engaging, for the sake of foreign interests, in a fruitless war, had thus exposed the nation to disgrace; and the Scots, prompted by French councils, beginning to move on the borders, they were under the necessity of rather tending to their defence at home, than to the thoughts of recovering foreign possessions.

Whether the possession of Calais was really beneficial to England, was a point which the nation, at that time, was in too great a ferment coolly to discuss; but it does not appear that, in the next reign, the queen, or her ministers, considered it of vast importance, as the restitution of it seems rather to have been insisted on to satisfy the humour of the nation, than from any benefits accruing from it.

The war continued to be carried on with great vigour, between the French and Spaniards; the recovery of Calais had restored the affairs of France; and the campaign of 1558 opened very successfully for that nation.

nation. Flushed with success, the French army attacked Count Egmont the Spanish general, near Gravelines, but were received with great spirit. Whilst the action continued, an English squadron then cruising in the narrow seas, bore down to the shore, and, bringing their guns to bear upon the left wing of the French, did such dreadful execution, as presently decided the fortune of the day. Two hundred of the enemy fled to the English ships for quarter. This was a very decisive stroke in favour of Philip.

The queen hereupon ordered a considerable naval armament to be drawn together, (with an intent to make a descent on the coast of France,) under the command of Lord Clinton, lord high admiral. Much time was lost before this fleet got to sea; but in the month of July it reached the coast of Lower Bretagne. Seven thousand land-forces were disembarked, which reduced the town of Conquet, and then re-embarked, and the fleet set sail to return to England; but, being joined by a squadron of thirty sail of Spanish ships, the admiral was induced to attempt the town of Brest. When he arrived the second time on that coast, he found the whole country under arms, and the attempt thereby rendered impracticable. This was the last naval enterprize during the reign of Queen Mary.

Philip had, from the first, treated the queen with the most mortifying coldness, as we have observed before. Her extreme desire of having issue had made her fondly give credit to any appearance of pregnancy; and, before she had been a twelvemonth married, so strong was the belief of this fact, that notifications thereof were formally given in to foreign courts; orders were issued to give public thanks to heaven for the expected event, and great rejoicings were made. Notwithstanding which, the body of the nation remained somewhat incredulous; and men were persuaded that the queen laboured under infirmities which rendered her inca-

pable of having children. Her infant proved only the commencement of a dropſy, which the diſordered ſtate of her health brought upon her. Her huſband, at length, neither pleaſed with his confort nor with the nation, quitted England, to purſue his own ſchemes in Flanders. The loſs of Calais, and the diſappointment with regard to the queen's pregnancy, excited bitter murmurs among the people. The Proteſtants now exerted their influence, in expoſing the weakneſs of the government, and the cruelty of the council. The houſe of commons, that had commonly been a mere echo to the voice of majeſty, now teſtified diſaffection, and reſuſed to grant a ſubſidy, though Mary condeſcended to lay the bad ſtate of her affairs before them. One of the members for the city of London made a long ſpeech in the houſe on this occaſion, wherein he fully and freely laid open the national grievances; affirming, among other things, that the city of London was then worth leſs, by three hundred thouſand pounds, than at the death of King Edward VI. Every reflection now tormented the queen: the conſciouſneſs of being hated by her ſubjects; the proſpect of Elizabeth's ſucceſſion; apprehenſions of the danger to which the Catholic religion ſtood expoſed; dejection for the loſs of Calais; which, ſhe ſaid, would be found written on her heart after her death; and, above all, anxiety for the abſence of her huſband, who, ſhe knew, intended ſoon to ſettle in Spain, during the remainder of his life. All theſe melancholy reflections preyed upon her mind, and threw her into a lingering fever; of which ſhe died, after a ſhort reign of five years four months and eleven days, aged forty-two years.

It is not neceſſary to employ many words in drawing the character of this princeſs. She poſſeſſed few qualities either eſtimable or amiable, and her perſon was as little engaging as her behaviour and addreſs. Obſtinacy, bigotry, violence, cruelty, malignity, revenge, and tyranny; every circumſtance of her character

racter took a tincture from her bad temper and narrow understanding. And, amidst that complication of vices which entered into her composition, we shall scarcely find any virtue but sincerity; a quality which she seems to have maintained throughout her whole life, except in the beginning of her reign, when the necessity of her affairs obliged her to make some promises to the Protestants, which she certainly never intended to perform. But in these cases a weak bigoted woman, under the government of priests, easily finds casuistry sufficient to justify to herself the violation of an engagement. She appears, as well as her father, to have been susceptible of some attachment of friendship; and that without caprice and inconstancy, which were so remarkable in the conduct of that monarch. To which we may add, that in many circumstances of her life, she gave indications of resolution and vigour of mind; a quality which seems to have been inherent to her family.

During this reign, the naval power of England was so inconsiderable, that fourteen thousand pounds being ordered to be applied to the fleet, both for repairing and victualling it, it was computed, that ten thousand pounds a-year would afterwards answer all necessary charges.

The catastrophe which befel Sir Hugh Willoughby was not sufficient to damp the spirit of discovery, which now began to break forth. In 1556 Captain Stephen Burrough, in the service of the Russia company, sailed northward towards Nova Zembla, in hopes of finding an entrance into the great river Oby, in the Tartarian Sea; but he was unable to pass the Straits of Weygats, from the immense quantities of ice that obstructed that northern navigation; he was obliged to return unsuccessfully.

We have already seen, that a passage to Archangel had been discovered by the English during the last reign; in consequence of which, a beneficial trade

was established with Muscovy. A solemn embassy was sent by the czar to Queen Mary; but on their passage, the ambassadors were shipwrecked on the coast of Scotland: being hospitably entertained there, they proceeded on their journey, and were received in London with great pomp. This seems to have been the first intercourse which that empire had with any of the western potentates of Europe.

In this reign we find the first general law with regard to highways, which were appointed to be repaired by parish-duty all over England.

ELIZABETH was unanimously declared queen on the death of her sister Mary. From her very childhood she had been familiar with adversity; and as her prospect of mounting the throne of England had ever been extremely doubtful and obscure, until her sister's state of health precluded all probability of bringing an heir to possess it, her season of youth was employed in the acquisition of useful knowledge, instead of being wasted amidst the idle pageantry and seducing adulation which commonly beset those who are born to inherit a kingdom. She had long been the object of Mary's utter aversion, both on account of her adherence to the protestant religion and as being heir-apparent to the crown. It was even feared that she might attempt to wrest it from her sister during her life; but it was unquestionably certain, that she would, if ever she came to it, entirely innovate that religion which Mary had been so zealous to establish. The bishops, who had shed a deluge of blood to bring the kingdom back to the church of Rome, considered the destruction of the Princess Elizabeth as absolutely necessary to the accomplishment of their purpose. They represented to Queen Mary, that her destroying meaner heretics availed nothing, whilst the patroness of heresy was permitted to live: that it was to no purpose to lop off the branches of the tree, whilst its body was suffered to remain.



J. Chapman Sc.

QUEEN ELIZABETH

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remain. Mary was convinced of the force of these reasons, and caused her sister to be confined as a prisoner, waiting only for some favourable pretext to destroy her. Her own death prevented the perpetration of her premeditated cruelty, and Elizabeth was taken from a prison to be placed upon a throne.

The kingdom was in a most distressed condition at the accession of this queen. It was engaged in a foreign war, to further the views of an insatiable monarch, and from whence no national benefit could be derived. At home the people were divided and distracted about their religious and civil concerns. Those of the reformed religion had been lately exposed to the flames; and those of the Roman communion saw very clearly the mal-administration of that government to which they adhered, because it fostered their religious tenets. There was not a power in Europe to which the English might turn for support and assistance; and, with Scotland an open war was then waging: immediately on the queen's death, Mary Stewart queen of Scotland assumed the title of Queen of England, and laid claim to the crown. The exchequer of England was exhausted; most of the forts and castles in the kingdom were gone to decay: at sea the English had lost much of their reputation, and a heavy dejection had overspread all ranks of people.

Elizabeth was twenty-five years of age when she ascended the throne. She was endowed, by nature, with quick parts, which had been improved by a learned and judicious education; and, what contributed very essentially to strengthen the hands of government, she had the prepossessions of the people strongly in her favour. The first act of the queen's government was, asserting her independence. An order of council was issued, in the preamble to which it was recited, that the distresses of the kingdom were chiefly owing to the influence of foreign councils, in the preceding reign, and therefore the

queen thought fit to declare, that she was a free princess, and determined to act as such, without any farther application to Spain than the concerns of her people required. The queen then issued orders to her Vice-admiral Malyn, to draw together a fleet of ships, with which to cruise on the narrow seas ; and for preventing all persons from passing out of the realm, or entering into it, without a license being obtained : in which service he was very assiduous. Every measure was taken, at the same time, that might secure the nation from foreign invasion, or internal commotion.

Both houses of parliament were disposed to gratify the queen in every particular which she should require. They began the session with an unanimous declaration, that " Queen Elizabeth was, and ought to be, as well by the word of God as the common and statute laws of the realm, the lawful, undoubted, and true, heir to the crown, lawfully descended from the royal blood, according to the order of succession, settled in 35th Henry VIII." This act of recognition was, probably, dictated by the queen herself, and her ministry ; and she shewed her magnanimity, as well as moderation, in the terms which she employed on this occasion. She adopted not Mary's practice, in declaring the validity of her mother's marriage, or in expressly repealing the act formerly made against her own legitimacy ; she knew that this attempt must be attended with reflections on her father's memory, and on the birth of her deceased sister ; and, as all the world was sensible that Henry's divorce from Ann Boleyn was merely the effect of his usual violence and caprice, she scorned to found her title on any act of an assembly, which had too much prostituted its authority, by its former variable, servile, and iniquitous, decisions. Satisfied, therefore, in the general opinion entertained with regard to this fact, which appeared the more undoubted, the less anxiety she
discovered

discovered in fortifying it by votes and enquiries, she took possession of the throne, both as her birthright and as ensured to her by former acts of parliament; and she never appeared anxious to distinguish these titles.

Queen Elizabeth was thoroughly attached to the protestant cause, which, by this time, had gained such footing among the people, as to have obtained the ascendancy over the adherents to popery. The ill use the papists had made of their power, in the last reign, had totally undone their cause. A religion, marked with cruelty, tyranny, and persecution, was not a religion for the people of England. With the concurrence of her parliament the reformation was again introduced, and the opposition which was made to these religious establishments was but weak. Of nine thousand four hundred beneficed clergymen, the whole number in the kingdom, only fourteen bishops, twelve archdeacons, fifteen heads of colleges, and about eighty of the parochial clergy, chose to quit their preferments rather than their belief. Thus England changed its established religion four times in as many reigns. Strange, says a foreign writer, that a people, who are so resolute, should be guilty of so much inconstancy! that the same people who, one day, publicly burnt heretics, should, the next, not only think them guiltless, but conform to their opinions!

A peace with France soon followed: whilst it was negotiating, Philip used his utmost efforts to make the restitution of Calais an article in the treaty: every consideration of honour required him to make good to England the loss she had sustained in a war entered into merely on his account: but what may be supposed, from the general character of this prince, to have weighed with him more strongly, was, his interest being essentially concerned in dispossessing France of a barrier to the Low Countries: besides these

these motives, a still stronger one subsisted: he entertained hopes of espousing Elizabeth; and, until the changes of religion in England shut out his prospect of such an alliance, he made the surrender of Calais the essential condition of a peace. After Elizabeth had openly declared herself the patroness of the protestant cause, though all his own terms with France were settled, he yet seemed willing to continue the war till the queen should obtain satisfaction: but this apparent regard for England was dictated by a hope of securing Elizabeth in the interest of Spain, and engaging her farther assistance against Henry of France. Elizabeth, however, understood the true interest of her kingdom too well to be longer embroiled in foreign wars. She severely felt the consequences of the great debts contracted by her father, brother, and sister: she saw the disorders which had been introduced into every part of the administration; the inveteracy of religious disputation, which had soured the minds of the people; and she was convinced, that nothing but wisdom, patriotism, and tranquillity, could impart soundness and vigour to this debilitated country. As she was well convinced of the real motives which induced Philip to adhere to her interests to the apparent neglect of his own, she directed her ministers to conclude a peace with France, without the intervention of the King of Spain. She well knew the value which Henry put upon Calais, and chose rather to sustain its loss, than to attempt its recovery, by rendering herself subservient to the views of Philip. The monarchs of France and England therefore agreed, that Calais should be restored at the end of eight years; otherwise five hundred thousand crowns should be paid by France, and the right of possessing it should remain in England: for the due payment of which sum, if it should be forfeited, seven or eight foreign merchants became bound, and hostages were delivered by the French king for the

due surrender of the place. All men of penetration clearly saw, that these stipulations were but a colourable pretence for abandoning Calais. A peace with Scotland soon followed that with France.

This peace, however, was far from removing the apprehensions of the queen, with regard to the views of the French court. The dauphin and his consort, Mary queen of Scots, openly assumed the arms as well as title of England; and it plainly appeared, that the King of France intended, on the first opportunity, to dispute the legitimacy of Elizabeth, and her title to the crown. Henry, the French king, dying, the dauphin succeeded to the throne of France, under the name of Francis II. Elizabeth, therefore, considered him and his queen as her mortal enemies. The suppression of the reformed religion, which had now obtained a footing in Scotland, was a favourite object with the court of France; and to effect this, considerable bodies of troops were sent over into that kingdom. These proceedings so alarmed the nobility of Scotland, that many of them had immediate recourse to arms; and, not finding their own strength sufficient, applied for protection to Queen Elizabeth, who, foreseeing the consequences of suffering the French to fix in Scotland, determined to supply the insurgents there with assistance, both by sea and land. Admiral Winter commanded the fleet which sailed up the frith of Forth, and blocked up the town of Leith by sea; whilst the army of the Scotch lords, and the English auxiliaries, under Lord Grey, besieged it by land, and presently obliged the French garrison, that defended it, to surrender, thereby entirely frustrating the schemes of France. A treaty was, presently after, signed at Edinburgh; by which it was stipulated, that the French should immediately evacuate Scotland; that the King and Queen of France and Scotland should, thenceforth, abstain from bearing the arms of England, or assuming the title of sovereigns of that kingdom;

dom ; and that farther satisfaction for the injury already done in that particular should be granted Elizabeth. In order to hasten the execution of this important treaty, the Queen of England sent ships, by which the French forces were transported into their own country, on the 5th of July, 1560.

From the very beginning of her reign, Elizabeth had paid great attention to her navy : she caused a survey thereof to be made, and the causes of its decay to be strictly enquired into ; and, as a means of its restoration, she issued orders for preserving timber fit for the purpose of ship-building. So attentive was she to the augmentation of her navy, that presently the most formidable fleet was formed that England ever beheld. She considerably increased the pay of her naval officers and seamen ; for the security of her fleet, which generally lay in the Medway, she built a strong fortress, called Upnore-castle ; she directed many pieces of brass cannon to be cast, and encouraged the making gunpowder in England, which had, till that time, been imported on very disadvantageous terms : the countenance shewn to all sorts of artificers, drew over foreigners skilled in the arts conducive to navigation ; by the pains taken by the queen in maritime affairs, a spirit of emulation was excited among her subjects, who began to exert themselves in repairing the ports through the kingdom ; building vessels of all dimensions, particularly stout and large ships, fit for war as well as commerce. By such measures, says Camden, foreigners styled her the restorer of naval glory, and queen of the Northern Seas. “ Elizabeth,” says the Abbé Raynal, “ impatient of contradiction, but knowing, and desirous of doing, what was right, at once despotic and popular, with the advantages of a good understanding, and of being properly obeyed, availed herself of that fermentation of people’s minds, which was as prevalent throughout all her dominions as it was through the
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rest of Europe; and while it produced, in other states, nothing but polemical disputations, civil commotions, or foreign wars, in England it gave rise to a lively emulation for commerce, and the advancement of navigation."

This great monarch had already made some progress in discharging those heavy debts which were due from the crown; she also regulated the coin, which had been much debased by her predecessors.

The civil dissensions in the kingdom of France, which gave that court a pretence for oppressing those of the reformed religion, whom they called Hugonots, produced, in the year 1562, very destructive consequences. A general spirit of rapine and confusion having spread itself through the inhabitants of that country, and the greatest crimes meeting with impunity, such as dwelt on the sea-coast, who were chiefly hugonots, fitted out ships to annoy their enemies; upon which the court party did the like; so that, at last, piracies were frequent, and the English trade suffered thereby so considerably, that the queen was at length compelled to interpose. The Prince of Condé, who was a chief support of the French protestants, finding Philip had formed an alliance with the Princes of Guise, for the protection of the ancient faith, and the suppression of heresy, implored the protection of Elizabeth, who, alone, was able to support him and his cause, against such powerful adversaries. The greater part of the province of Normandy was possessed by the hugonots, and Condé offered to put Havre de Grace, then called Newhaven, into the hands of the English; on condition that, together with three thousand men, for the garrison of that place, the queen should likewise send over three thousand more, to defend Dieppe and Rouen; and should furnish the prince with a supply of one hundred thousand crowns. Dudley earl of Warwick, eldest son of the late Duke of

Northumberland, took possession of the town; and immediately a swarm of privateers issued from that port, which greatly annoyed the French trade, and was no more than a retaliation on the court of France, which had granted the same licence to French ships against the English, immediately on the other possessing themselves of Newhaven.

The civil dissensions which had distressed and weakened the kingdom of France, without giving either side a decided ascendancy over the other, having alike wearied both, they at length agreed upon an adjustment of the differences; a toleration, under certain restrictions, was granted to the protestants; a general amnesty was published; and Condé was reinstated in his offices and governments. By the agreement between Elizabeth and the prince, neither party was at liberty to conclude a peace, without the consent of the other. But such restriction was disregarded by the French: they, however, procured a clause in favour of the Queen of England, by which the Queen-regent of France agreed, that Elizabeth should be paid her charges, as well as the money advanced to the Prince of Condé, upon her relinquishing Newhaven; and that Calais should be restored to her, at the time specified in the former treaty. But the English court preferred their present possession in Normandy, which commanded the entrance of the Seine, and was admirably suited for commercial purposes, as well as for the annoyance of the French, to the terms which had been made for its surrender: the governor was, therefore, directed to put the place in a good state of defence. Montmorency, constable of France, commanded the army destined to lay siege to Newhaven; the queen-regent, and the young king Charles IX. were present in the camp; even the Prince of Condé joined the king's forces, and gave countenance to this enterprise.

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The Earl of Warwick was at the head of a garrison of six thousand men, besides seven hundred pioneers. The reduction of Newhaven was, therefore, looked upon as a very uncertain contingency, notwithstanding the great force that was brought against it ; but in the defence of this important place the English had no opportunity of displaying that valour and firmness which characterise them : an epidemical distemper raged among the garrison before the siege was formed, which, being increased by fatigue and bad diet, (for they were but ill supplied with provisions,) soon made such ravages, that one hundred men would sometimes die of it in a day ; and there remained not, at last, fifteen hundred men in a condition to do duty. The French, meeting with such feeble resistance, carried on their attacks successfully ; and having made two breaches, each of them sixty feet wide, prepared for a general assault ; which must have terminated in the slaughter of the whole garrison. The governor, who had strongly represented to the English ministry the necessity of a reinforcement of men, and a supply of provisions, without receiving either, was reduced to the necessity of capitulating, and was allowed to march his troops out of the town. The articles of capitulation were no sooner signed, than the high admiral, Lord Clinton, who had been long detained by contrary winds, appeared off the harbour, with a reinforcement of three thousand men ; but, finding the place had surrendered, he could only take the remains of the garrison on-board. To increase the misfortune, the troops brought the pestilential disease, which raged among them, into England, where it swept off great multitudes, particularly in the city of London. Above twenty thousand persons died of it there in one year.

This untoward event, plainly occasioned by the remissness of government at home, shews, that in

this instance, Elizabeth had relaxed of her usual spirit and activity.

The term fixed by treaty, for the restitution of Calais, expired in 1567; and Elizabeth, after making her demand at the gates of that city, sent Sir Thomas Smith to Paris; and that minister, in conjunction with Sir Henry Norris, her resident ambassador, enforced her pretensions. Conferences were held on that head, without coming to any conclusion satisfactory to the English. At length the chancellor, De l'Hospital, told the English ambassadors, that though France, by an article of the treaty in 1559, was obliged to restore Calais on the expiration of eight years, there was another article of the same treaty, which now deprived Elizabeth of any right that would accrue to her by that engagement. That it was agreed, if the English should, during the interval, commit hostilities upon France, they should instantly forfeit all claim to Calais; and the taking possession of Newhaven, or Havre de Grace, by whatever pretences that measure might be coloured over, was a direct violation of the peace between the two nations. If it was urged that the place was not entered by force, but put into Elizabeth's hands by the governors, the reply would be, those governors were rebels, and a correspondence with such was a flagrant insult on the government. It was farther urged, that in the treaty which ensued, upon the expulsion of the English from Normandy, the French ministers had absolutely refused to make any mention of Calais, and had thereby declared their intention to take advantage of the title which had accrued to the crown of France; and that, though a general clause had been inserted, implying a reservation of all claims; this concession could not avail the English, who, at that time, possessed no just claim to Calais, and had previously forfeited all right to that fortress. The queen was not at all surprised at hearing these allegations; and as

she

she knew that the French court intended not, from the first, to make restitution, much less after they could justify their refusal by such plausible reasons, she thought it better, for the present, to acquiesce in the loss, than to pursue a doubtful title by a war, both expensive in its prosecution and dangerous in its issue.---If the court of France could on other occasions have urged as strong reasons for their conduct as they did in this instance, much bloodshed would have been prevented on the side of each nation.

In the beginning of the year 1567, Sir John Hawkins sailed to the relief of the French protestants in Rochelle, who were persecuted, contrary to the faith of treaty, by the French government, and returned to England in the summer. In the month of October that same year, he sailed from Plymouth in the same ship, with which he had before gone to the coast of Guinea, (as will be farther noticed in the commercial anecdotes at the end of this reign,) on a third trading voyage thither, with six ships in company. Having procured a large number of slaves, he proceeded to Spanish America, there to dispose of them. The governor of Rio de la Hacha refusing to trade, Hawkins landed, and took the town, in which there seems to have been some collusion; for afterwards they traded together, in a friendly manner, till most of the negroes were disposed of. He thence sailed to Cartagena, where he disposed of the rest; but, in returning home, he was overtaken by storms on the coast of Florida, and obliged to shelter himself in the harbour of St. John de Ulloa, in the bottom of the Bay of Mexico. The appearance of English ships spread an alarm through the place, which Sir John Hawkins endeavoured to remove, by expressing his pacific disposition, and that he only wanted to be supplied with provisions, for which he was ready to pay. This request would have been readily complied with, if the Spanish plate-fleet had not appeared off the coast:

coast: the English captain, fearful of some treachery being practised, now that so large a force was collected, stipulated with the new viceroy, who arrived in the fleet, that hostages should be mutually given, for the observance of peace on both sides; and that the island, with eleven pieces of brass cannon therein, should be yielded up to his crew whilst they continued there; which conditions were, at length, consented to by the Spanish governor. But three days after this, before these conditions were made good, the Spaniards attacked such of the English as were on-shore, killed many, and drove the rest back to their ships. A furious engagement then ensued, and in an hour's time, the admiral of the Spaniards, and another ship, were supposed to be sunk, and their vice-admiral to be burnt: so that the English had little to fear from the enemy's ships; but they suffered exceedingly by the ordnance on the island, which sunk their small ships, and damaged the masts and rigging of their larger ones. Only two ships, the *Minion* and *Judith*, escaped the fury of their enemies; and to increase the misery of those on-board, they were separated in a storm, and did not arrive in England until they had endured extreme perils, from the designs of the Spaniards, the want of provisions, and violent tempests.

The command of the *Judith* was given to Francis Drake, then only twenty-two years of age, whom we shall hereafter have occasion to commemorate. In this desperate action he acquired great honour, but lost his whole substance. In order, therefore, to repair his fortunes, in the year 1570, he engaged several private adventurers to join him, in a kind of piratical expedition, against the Spaniards; and, by their assistance, he was furnished with two ships, the *Dragon* and the *Swan*, with which he made his first expedition. After which he made several voyages to the Spanish main: by which he both enriched himself,

and those concerned with him. His success in these expeditions, joined to his honourable manner of distributing the profits among his partners, gained him a high reputation, and the manner which he employed the wealth he had acquired a still greater ; for, fitting out three stout frigates at his own expence, he sailed with them to Ireland, where, under Walter earl of Essex, the father of that nobleman who will be hereafter spoken of, he served as a volunteer, and did many brave feats.

Charles IX. king of France, breathing a spirit of persecution against such of his subjects as adhered to the tenets of protestantism, Queen Elizabeth, by her ambassador Norris, very cogently remonstrated. According to Camden, in his history of this reign, she exhorted the king "not to incense his good people, the protestants, by trying arbitrary and dangerous experiments ; but rather to beware of those bad ministers, who, by driving out his best subjects, did but weaken the power of France to such a degree, as to leave it an easy prey to those who desired to disturb it." But these conciliatory interpositions being disregarded, the queen determined to support the protestant cause, by furnishing those oppressed people with money, arms, and ammunition : and, by giving every encouragement to such as were inclined to settle in England, she greatly augmented the wealth and populousness of her own kingdom.

Let us now take a retrospective view of the state of affairs in the Low Countries, where a surprising revolution was soon to take place.

The flourishing state of the Netherlands must be, in a great measure, ascribed to the nature and situation of the country, which, lying in the centre of Europe, commands the entrance and navigation of several of the great rivers of Germany, and is almost every where intersected by those rivers, or by canals, and branches of the sea, whereby it is admirably fitted,
both

both for foreign and inland trade. This peculiar advantage of situation alone, could not, however, have enabled the Flemings to leave the other European nations so far behind them, if the form of their civil government had not been peculiarly favourable to their exertions.

The sovereignty of these flourishing provinces passed from the family of Burgundy into that of Austria, by the marriage of the heiress of the one house with the heir of the other. Charles V. together with his other vast possessions, inherited these provinces. Though he ruled Spain and Germany with an oppressive sway, yet many considerations led him to refrain from introducing among the Flemings the same sort of arbitrary government which was established in his other dominions. Adrian, afterwards advanced to the papacy, was a native of Utrecht: in all his wars he placed particular confidence in his Flemish troops, whom he had ever found the most intrepid and attached. But Philip, though he had occasionally resided in Flanders, had received his education in Spain, and there he had learnt to entertain the most superstitious reverence for the holy see, and had imbibed extravagant ideas of regal authority. The first cause of jealousy given the Flemings was, the appointment of foreigners to places of trust in the Netherlands. This unpopular measure was presently succeeded by an avowed design to extirpate the new opinions in religion, which were then gaining ground very fast. For this end Philip established a particular tribunal for the extirpation of heresy, which, though not called by the name of an inquisition, differed nothing from it in its cruel and oppressive jurisdiction.

A war with the Turks diverted Philip, for some time, from carrying into effect the system of tyranny which he had projected for the Flemings: but no sooner was peace restored in that quarter, than the
fury

fury of religious rage, that fruitful source of human misery, when armed with power, settled on the territories of Flanders, to make desolate the abodes of peace. This bigotted prince, who may be justly called the scourge of mankind, bent on the suppression of heresy, gave positive orders for enforcing obedience to the decrees of the council of Trent, throughout the seventeen provinces, which Charles V. had distinguished by the title of the Circle of Burgundy. A violent opposition to these mandates was every where shewn; on which Philip sent the Duke of Alva, in 1567, at the head of a strong and well-disciplined army, (that ready executor of a tyrant's will,) as governor of the Netherlands, to enforce obedience.

Alva was a man perfectly qualified to carry into effect the most oppressive plan of government: he was distinguished alike for the talents of a general and a statesman; and possessed by nature, what others acquire by a savage education and long practice, a relish for shedding blood. The miseries of his fellow-creatures, by a perverted organization of his frame, seemed to contribute most to his enjoyment; and his infernal spirit sported itself in contriving ingenious refinements in the means of inflicting torture. Men of all ranks began to abandon their habitations, in so much that one hundred thousand persons are computed to have fled into foreign parts: but this was only a prelude to the acts of tyranny which will ever stamp with infamy the name of Alva. The inquisition was now established with all its terrors, whilst the governor had disposed his army in such a manner, as best to secure the accomplishment of his plan of tyranny. In short, that country, heretofore highly distinguished for the mildness of its government, and the happiness of its people, became exposed to the outrages of a rapacious soldiery; whilst the governor was subduing and breaking the spirit of the people, by confiscations, imprisonments, and executions.

This success of the duke's arms and councils gave great uneasiness to some of the neighbouring princes, and particularly to the Queen of England. That wise princess had, from the beginning of her reign, beheld, with anxiety, the growing power of the Spanish monarchy. She knew how much Philip was inclined to disturb her government, and was sensible of the advantage which the vicinity of his dominions in the Netherlands afforded him, for carrying any scheme which he might form against her into execution; especially at the present period, when, instead of the limited prerogative which he had, till then, enjoyed in those provinces, he had acquired an absolute and despotic power, and established a military force, which was formidable to the neighbouring nations, as well as to the people whom it had been employed to subdue. Prompted by these considerations, she had granted her protection to the Flemish exiles; and, if we may credit some historians, she had given secret assistance, in money, to the Prince of Orange. The situation of her affairs at home, where she was disquieted by the machinations of the Queen of Scots, rendered it inexpedient for her to come to an open breach with the Spanish monarch; but, notwithstanding this, she had resolved to lay hold of the first proper opportunity that should occur of counteracting his designs.

It was not long before an occasion of this kind offered, which she readily embraced. Some merchants of Genoa having engaged to transmit certain sums of money for Philip's use into the Netherlands, had put four hundred thousand crowns on-board five small vessels, which, being attacked by privateers on their way to Antwerp, were obliged to take shelter in the harbours of Plymouth and Southampton. The Spanish ambassador at the court of London immediately applied for a safe conduct, that he might send the money by the nearest way to the Low Countries. At first the queen seemed willing to grant his request; but afterwards

terwards she ordered the ambassador to be told, that, as she understood the money was the property of the Italian merchants, she was resolved to detain it, for some time, in her own hands, and would take care that the owners should not have any reason to complain. The ambassador endeavoured to make it appear, that the money belonged to the king his master; and he was seconded in his application for it by letters addressed to the queen from the Duke of Alva. Elizabeth lent a deaf ear to their remonstrances, and discovered plainly that she was resolved to keep the money. Alva was not of a temper to endure this insult patiently. It was ever more agreeable to his nature to bear down opposition by force and violence, than to remove it by the gentle means of negotiation. Without regarding the treaties subsisting between the English and Flemings, and without consulting either the states, or the council of the Netherlands, he ordered all the English merchants at Antwerp to be seized, cast into prison, and their effects confiscated. Either he did not consider, or he was not moved by the consideration, that the Flemings had, at that time, a much greater quantity of goods in England than the English possessed in Flanders. Elizabeth, therefore, was not diverted from her purpose by this proceeding. She hereupon dispatched an ambassador to Philip, to complain of the injustice done her subjects, who not being able to obtain satisfaction, she proceeded to make reprisals, and seized effects belonging to Spanish and Flemish merchants, by which her subjects were more than compensated for all the losses which they had sustained in Flanders. Alva came, at last, to perceive his error, and sent over Christopher Assonville to England, to negotiate terms of accommodation with the queen. Elizabeth, who took pleasure in mortifying the pride of Alva, refused to admit Assonville into her presence, because he had not credentials from Philip. Alva, more enraged than ever by this affront, prohibited the people in the Low Countries

from holding any commercial intercourse with the English; but, at last, after various negotiations, the matter was adjusted by treaty, and the trade put upon its former footing, in the year 1574.

Such was the state of the Netherlands; on the side of France the inveterate abhorrence entertained by Charles IX. against the hugonots, in which he was confirmed by his mother Catharine de Medicis, who had been appointed regent during his minority, rendered the coalition which had taken place in 1563 a very feeble security against the renewal of civil dissensions. But, though the court of France was meditating the utter extinction of the reformation in that kingdom, its designs were concealed under the veil of such consummate dissimulation, as to deceive the most sagacious and penetrating observers. Walsingham, who was ambassador from England at the French court, gave his mistress the strongest assurances of the sincerity of those professions of friendship, which the queen-dowager, and the king her son, made to the leaders of the Protestant party. The king even proposed a marriage between his sister Margaret and the Prince of Navarre, the head of the Protestant interest. The admiral Coligny, with all the considerable nobility of the party, were drawn to Paris, in order to do honour to such auspicious nuptials, which, it was hoped, would compose the differences occasioned by the two religions, or, at least, appease the bloody animosity which they had produced. But whilst all the hugonots were reposing themselves in full security, the Queen of Navarre, mother to the bridegroom, was poisoned, at the same time the admiral was dangerously wounded by an assassin; and, on the evening of St. Bartholomew, a few days after the marriage, on a signal being given, a general massacre of all the Protestants began, Charles himself, in person, leading the way to these assassinations. The hatred long entertained by the Parisians against the Protestants, made them

them second, without any preparation, the fury of the court; and persons of every condition and age, and of either sex, who were suspected of any propensity to that faith, were involved in one undistinguished ruin. The great Coligni, his son-in-law Teligini, Soubise, Rochefoucault, Pardaillon, Lavadin, all of them men, who, during the late wars, had signalized themselves by the most heroic actions, were miserably butchered without resistance: the streets of Paris flowed with blood; and the people, more enraged than satiated with their cruelty, as if repining that death had delivered the victims from farther sufferings, exercised on their dead bodies all the rage of the most licentious brutality. About five hundred gentlemen, and men of rank, perished in this massacre; and near ten thousand of inferior condition. Orders were instantly dispatched through all the provinces, for a like general execution of all the Protestants; and in Rouen, Lyons, and many other cities, the people emulated the fury of the capital. Even the murder of the King of Navarre, and Prince of Condé, had been proposed by the Duke of Guise: but Charles was not yet rendered so obdurate by his cruelties, as to be insensible to the amiable manners of the King of Navarre; and, hoping that both these young princes might easily be converted to the Catholic faith, he determined to spare their lives, though he obliged them to purchase their safety by a seeming change of their religion. The French ambassador, at the court of London, was directed to acquaint Elizabeth of this bloody transaction, and to palliate the diabolical perfidy of it, by pretending, that a conspiracy of the hugonots had been discovered, which aimed at seizing the king's person, and therefore that self-defence had urged him to this severity against them. Fenelon, the minister, a man of probity, felt an inward abhorrence at the treachery and cruelty of his court, and even scrupled not to declare, that he was now ashamed to bear the name of Frenchman.

The queen was obliged to express herself cautiously on this horrid deed, being well aware of the dangers that surrounded her. In the massacre of Paris she saw the consequences resulting from that general confederacy which was formed against the Protestants; and she knew, that she herself, as the head and protectress of the new religion, was exposed to the utmost fury and resentment of the Catholics. The French king Charles, and Philip of Spain, had hitherto appeared at variance, the better to conceal their sanguinary purposes; but now, that the decisive stroke was struck, they avowed a cordial friendship; and if perfidy, barbarity, and bigotry, can cement friendship, these two princes ought to have been fast friends. Considerations regarding her own safety, therefore, prevented Elizabeth from uttering the emotions which she felt at these detestable proceedings. Meanwhile she prepared herself for all events which might befall her from the combined power and extirpating spirit of the Romanists. She fortified Portsmouth; put her fleet in order; exercised her militia; cultivated popularity with her subjects; acted with vigour for the farther reduction of Scotland, under obedience to the young king James VI. and renewed her alliance with the German princes, who were no less alarmed than herself, at these treacherous and sanguinary measures, so universally embraced by the Catholics.

Philip saw England advancing with rapid strides into power and consequence; whilst all his secret negotiations, and open measures, had tended only to reduce that power which they were designed to aggrandize. Queen Elizabeth had ever been the chief instrument in counteracting his plans of ambition, and had even assisted in depriving him of possessions which he had derived from his father, the emperor Charles V. We have shewn, that, during the administration of the Duke of Alva in the Netherlands, differences had arisen between the court of England and the King of Spain's

Spain's governor there; and that, after much warmth on both sides, matters were, in some measure, accommodated in 1573: that accommodation was so far from being produced by any pacific disposition in either of the two powers, that it was a mere act of policy on both sides; neither having, as yet, gained that situation which was necessary for accomplishing its designs on the other. The Catholic king had three points in view, not for distressing only, but for destroying, Queen Elizabeth, and utterly subverting the English state. The first of these was, uniting against her, under colour of religion, most of the princes and states of Europe; which, by the assistance of the pope, joined to his own extensive influence, he accomplished. His second point was, perplexing the queen at home, by countenancing the popish faction, and by maintaining at a vast expence, such fugitives as fled from England. The last thing Philip had at heart, was, the providing, as secretly as might be, such a force, as, with the assistance of his other schemes, might enable him to make himself master of England at once: to which end he, with great diligence, sought to increase his maritime power; and, under the pretence of his wars in the Netherlands, to keep, under the command of the Prince of Parma, who then acted there, and who was one of the ablest generals that the age produced, such an army, in constant readiness, as might be sufficient to achieve the conquest, when he should have a fleet strong enough to protect them in their passage. In the prosecution of these deep-laid projects, Philip met with many advantageous circumstances, which might, very rationally, encourage his hopes: particularly the death of the Queen of Scots, which sullied the character of Elizabeth in foreign courts; and his own acquisition of the kingdom of Portugal, whereby he gained a vast accession of naval strength.

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The history of Mary queen of Scots is so interwoven with the English history, that we shall here give a general sketch of the life of that unfortunate princess, from the death of her husband Francis II.

This princess becoming a widow at the age of eighteen, having brought no issue, and being deprived of her rank and consequence in France, she chose to revisit her own kingdom of Scotland. Mary had desisted, after her husband's death, from bearing the arms and title of Queen of England: she still, however, declined ratifying the treaty of Edinburgh, though strongly pressed to do it by Throgmorton, the English minister at the court of France. When she had determined on passing over into Scotland, she applied to Elizabeth for a safe conduct through England thither; but received for answer, that, till she had given satisfaction, by ratifying the treaty of Edinburgh, she could expect no favour from a person she had so much injured. This refusal highly piqued the queen, who expressed her feelings upon the occasion very strongly to the English ambassador. As she was, therefore, necessitated to proceed by sea, Elizabeth, under pretence of suppressing piracies, fitted out a fleet; really with a design to intercept her kinswoman. Mary embarked at Calais, and had the good fortune, under favour of a fog, to elude the vigilance of the English cruisers, and to arrive safe at Leith. On her return to Scotland, the current of popularity ran strongly in her favour; her youth, and the amiable beauty of her person, were farther recommended by the affability of her address, the politeness of her manners, and the elegance of her genius. Thoroughly accomplished in all the superficial, but engaging, graces of a court, she afforded, when better known, still more promising indications of her character; and men prognosticated, both humanity from her soft and obliging deportment, and penetration from her taste, in all the refined arts of music, eloquence, and poetry.

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As the Scots had long been deprived of the presence of their sovereign, whom they once despaired ever more to behold among them, her arrival seemed to give universal satisfaction; and nothing appeared about the court, but symptoms of affection, joy, and festivity. At first she bestowed her confidence entirely on the leaders of the reformed party, who had great influence over the people, and who, she found, were alone able to support her government. She created Lord James earl of Murray, and entrusted him with the administration; but soon these favourable appearances vanished, by the queen adhering to the tenets of popery, which immediately alienated the affections of her subjects, and subjected her to very heavy inconveniences. Mary saw the necessity of cultivating the friendship of Elizabeth, in order to support herself on the throne: not long after her arrival in Scotland, she, therefore, dispatched her secretary to the Queen of England, to pay her compliments, and express her desire of maintaining a friendly correspondence: at the same time he received a commission from the nobility of Scotland, to demand, as a means of cementing their friendship, that Mary should, by act of parliament, or by proclamation, (for the difference between these securities was not then deemed very considerable,) be declared successor to the crown. Nothing could more effectually counteract the purpose of this embassy than such a requisition. The queen replied, that Mary had once discovered her intention not to wait for the succession, but had openly, without ceremony or reserve, assumed the title of Queen of England, and had pretended a superior right to her throne and kingdom: that though Mary's ambassadors, and those of her late husband the French king, had signed a treaty, by which they renounced that claim, and promised satisfaction for so great an indignity, yet the Queen of Scotland was so intoxicated with this imaginary right, that she had rejected the

most earnest solicitations, and even, as some had endeavoured to persuade her, had incurred danger in crossing the seas, rather than ratify that equitable agreement: that her partizans, every where, had still the effrontery to insist on her title, and had presumed to talk of Elizabeth's birth as illegitimate: while, therefore, affairs were on this footing, a claim, which had been thus openly made, so far from being as openly renounced, was only suspended till a more favourable opportunity: it would, therefore, be the most egregious imprudence in the Queen of England to fortify the hands of a pretender to her crown, by declaring her the successor: that no expedient could be worse imagined for cementing friendship, than such a declaration; and kings were often found to bear no good will to their successors, even though these were their own children: there were, therefore, stronger reasons to suspect such consequences, where the connection was less intimate, and where such cause of disgust and jealousy had already been given, and indeed was still continued, on the part of Mary: though the Queen of England was willing, from the amity which she bore her kinswoman, to ascribe those former pretensions to the advice of others, by whose direction she was then governed; yet her continued refusal to relinquish them, could proceed only from her own prepossessions, and was a proof that she still harboured some dangerous designs; that it was the nature of mankind to be disgusted with the present; to entertain flattering views of the future; to think their services ill rewarded; to expect a better recompense from the successor; and she should esteem herself scarcely half a sovereign over the English, if they saw her declare her heir, and arm a rival with authority against her own repose and safety: she knew the inconstant nature of the people; their divisions in religion: she was not ignorant that the same party which expected greater favour during the reign of Mary, did
also

also imagine, that the title of that princess was superior to that of her own: that for her part, whatever claims were advanced, she was determined to live and die Queen of England; and after her death it was the business of others to examine who had the best pretensions, either by the laws, or by right of blood, to the succession: that she hoped the claim of the Queen of Scots would then be found solid; and, considering the injury which she herself had received, it was sufficient indulgence if she promised, in the mean time, to do nothing which might, in any respect, weaken or invalidate it; and that Mary, if her title was really preferable, a point which, for her own satisfaction, she had never enquired into, possessed all advantages above her rivals, who, destitute of present power, and of all support from friends, would only expose themselves to inevitable ruin, by advancing any weak, or even doubtful, pretensions.

This refusal of Queen Elizabeth to the Scottish claims produced no further altercation. Soon after, even a cordial intimacy took place between the two queens: each was lavish in professions of friendship to the other; and letters full of affection were every week exchanged between them. Such a sisterly attachment was also formed, in consequence of this correspondence, that they agreed upon having an interview at York, to consider of the proper methods for settling the succession. Mary, who was ten years younger than her rival, and likewise possessed a more frank and open disposition, was, probably, the most sincere of the two, in these professions; Elizabeth, on her part, never designed that the proposed interview should take place. Besides the political reasons which led her, as a queen, to avoid having the matter of succession discussed, she had others, as a woman, which operated no less powerfully. She knew the superior advantages which the Queen of Scots possessed in person, and feminine ac-

complishments; and wanted not that they should be displayed before her own court, and subjects.

Mary had now been a widow three years; and Elizabeth justly dreaded, lest she should match with some powerful foreign prince, which might tempt her to revive her pretensions to the crown, and to invade the kingdom on the side where it was weakest, and lay most exposed. On this occasion she assumed something of a dictatorial style, telling the Queen of Scots, that her marrying an English nobleman was the only thing that would satisfy her (Elizabeth), as such an alliance would remove all grounds of jealousy, and cement the union between the two crowns; and she, at length, named Robert Dudley, whom she had created Earl of Leicester, as the person on whom she desired that Mary's choice might fall. This nobleman was the fourth son of the late Duke of Northumberland, and held the chief place of favour with his mistresses. Elizabeth seems to have made choice of her ministers as a queen; but of her favourites as a woman. Bacon and Cecil were men of great capacity, able politicians, and indefatigable ministers; all affairs of state were entrusted to their conduct, and the queen grew great and respected by their counsels and support. Dudley had neither the abilities to form a statesman, nor the virtues which entitle a man to esteem; but he possessed the advantages of a good exterior form; was plausible and agreeable; and was, therefore, constantly singled out by the queen for her gallant, in those pastimes and recreations which were frequently held at one or other of her palaces.

The earl did not at all relish the proposed marriage with the Queen of Scotland: he considered it as a plan concerted by Cecil, who was his professed enemy, and whom, he imagined, hoped thereby to deprive him of the friendship of the two queens; the one, he supposed, would be disgusted at the presumption of such hope; the other would resent his attaching him-
self

self to another woman. Elizabeth herself had not any serious intentions of effecting this marriage; but, as she was desirous of throwing obstacles in the way of any marriage for Mary, she named a man, who, she believed, was not likely to be accepted of; and she hoped, by that means, to gain time, and elude the project of any other alliance. The Earl of Leicester was too great a favourite to be parted with; and when Mary, allured by the prospect of being declared successor to the crown, seemed at last to hearken to Elizabeth's proposal, the latter receded from her offers, and withdrew the bait she had thrown out. This duplicity of conduct, joined to some appearance of an imperious superiority, assumed by her, had drawn a peevish letter from Mary; and the seeming amicable correspondence between the two queens, was, during some time, interrupted. In order to make up the breach, the Queen of Scots dispatched Sir James Melvil to London; who has given us, in his memoirs, a particular account of his negotiation.

Although Mary was sensible of the importance of keeping fair with Elizabeth, yet she had ventured to make choice of a husband, without the consent of the Queen of England: this was the young lord Darnley, son of the Earl of Lenox, who was then in his twentieth year, and possessed the advantages of a fine person, which soon captivated the youthful fancy of the Queen of Scots. Elizabeth was no sooner informed of the marriage, than she vented the most violent displeasure against each of the parties, without advancing one good reason for her extreme resentment.

Darnley, who, upon his marriage, received the title of King Henry, was more than suspected of adhering to the Romish faith: the reformation, which had gained great footing in Scotland, was accompanied, in that kingdom, with a more inveterate abhorrence of the rites and ceremonies of the church of Rome, than in any other of the Protestant churches: the people, in
general,

general, therefore, were incensed, even to outrage, against their sovereign, and her consort; and John Knox, a zealous reformer, scrupled not to tell the king from the pulpit, that God, for punishment of the offences and ingratitude of the people, was wont to commit the rule over them to boys and women.

Very soon after the marriage took place, the Queen of Scots conceived a strong aversion to her husband, which soon increased to such a degree, that she did not scruple to give the most public proofs of it, by her behaviour towards him. It is generally supposed, that this dislike arose from the queen discovering a brutal and fordid disposition in Darnley, which rendered him insensible to her kindnesses, and disinclined to make her proper returns.

There was, at that time, in the Scottish court, a man named David Rizzio, who was the son of a musician at Turin, who had followed the ambassador from that court into Scotland. He was a great proficient in music, and possessed a good voice, which introduced him into the queen's concerts, who was so taken with him, that, when the ambassador departed, she requested him to leave Rizzio behind him. She soon after appointed him her secretary for French dispatches, honoured him with particular marks of her esteem, confided in him, and ever kept him near her person. The new king, who possessed nothing but the name of royalty, could not, without jealousy, see this insinuating foreigner receive all the queen's favours, whilst himself was treated with the most mortifying contempt. Full of resentment against this upstart foreigner, who had drawn on himself the hatred of the whole nation by his arrogance, he determined to murder him; and, that his resentment against the queen might be more expressly shewn, it was resolved that he should be assassinated in her apartments. George Douglas, a natural brother to Darnley's mother, the Countess of Lenox, urged him to this deed; and the lords

lords Ruthven and Lindefey, voluntarily undertook the business. Lord Darnley led the way to the queen's apartment, where she was at supper with her favourite; and conducted his accomplices by a private staircase, where they concealed themselves a-while, after Darnley had entered the room. The fierce looks and unexpected intrusion of her husband alarmed the queen: a little after Lord Ruthven, one of the murderers, and George Douglas, entered abruptly, armed, and attended. The queen, terrified at their appearance, demanded the reason of this bold intrusion. Ruthven told her, they intended no violence against her person, but meant only to bring that villain, pointing to Rizzio, to his deserved punishment. Rizzio, appalled with fear, ran behind his mistress, and, seizing her by the waist, implored her protection; whilst she strove to interpose between him and his murderers. The impatient assassins, regardless of her efforts, rushed upon their prey, and, by overturning every thing that stood in their way, increased the horror and confusion of the scene. Douglas, seizing Henry's dagger, struck it into the body of Rizzio, who, screaming with fear and agony, was torn from Mary by the other conspirators, and pushed into the antichamber, where he expired, covered with fifty-six wounds. The queen was then in the sixth month of her pregnancy, and this horrid scene had such an effect upon the fruit of her womb, that it is said her child, who was afterwards King James VI. of Scotland, and the First of England, could never look upon a drawn sword without shuddering. The king, after this desperate step, caused Mary to be kept a prisoner in her palace; but she soon after found means to obtain her enlargement, and with it her former ascendancy in government. Mary was delivered of a son at Edinburgh Castle, 19th of June, 1566; and immediately thereupon dispatched Sir James Melvil to England, to announce this important event to Elizabeth.

beth. We find, in the memoirs of that ambassador, that he found the queen at Greenwich, giving a ball to her court, the evening of his arrival, and displaying all that spirit and alacrity which usually attended her on those occasions. But, when he delivered her the news of the Prince of Scotland's birth, her cheerfulness forsook her; regardless of the entertainment that was going forward, she reclined her head upon her hand, and complained to some of her attendants, that the Queen of Scots was mother of a fair son, while she herself was but a barren stock. Next day, however, at the reception of the ambassador, she resumed her former dissimulation, put on a joyful countenance, gave Melvil thanks for the haste he had made in conveying to her the agreeable intelligence, and expressed the utmost cordiality and friendship to her sister.

The Queen of Scots, untaught by the tragical consequences which followed her guilty passion, presently formed another criminal engagement. The Earl of Bothwell, of considerable family and power in Scotland, now began to hold the same place in her affections which Rizzio had before possessed. This new amour led on to a catastrophe more terrible than the former: her husband fell a victim to it. His life was attempted by poison; but the strength of his constitution saved him for a short time. Whilst the queen resided in the palace of Holy-rood-house, Henry was persuaded to reside in a solitary house at some distance, called the Kirk of Field: an apparent reconciliation had taken place, and Henry's suspicions were lulled asleep, by the marks of kindness and attachment which the queen had lately shewn him, which was nothing more than a cover to her deep design of taking him off. At midnight the house was blown up by gunpowder, and the dead body of the king was found in a field at some distance. Whether he was first strangled, or received his death by the force with which he was thrown by the explosion, is uncertain. Mr. Hume supposes his death

death to have been occasioned by falling on the ground after he had been thrown into the air.

Bothwell was universally charged with being the author of this atrocious crime; and, at length, the whole nation, with one general voice, demanded justice upon him from the queen; who, deaf to the complaints of her people, and the voice of decency, married the murderer of her husband, and prevailed on him to divorce his former wife, to make way for this fatal alliance. The scheme concerted to bring about this match was worthy of the parties concerned in it. Bothwell, with an armed force, met the queen in her way to Edinburgh, and, with an apparent violence, carried her to Dunbar, where, as was pretended, he ravished her. A few days after Bothwell received the queen's pardon for the violence committed on her person, and for all other crimes; the principal lords of the state were thereupon assembled, and compelled to sign an instrument, purporting, that they judged it the queen's interest to marry Bothwell, as he had lain with her against her will. These transactions stirred up the whole kingdom of Scotland against their sovereign: Mary, abandoned of all, was compelled to surrender herself a prisoner to the states, whilst Bothwell fled to the Orkneys, having been created duke of those islands. The queen was confined in Lochleven-castle, where she was compelled to resign her crown to her son, then only a twelvemonth old, and to appoint the Earl of Murray regent during the minority. The calamities of the great, however justly merited, excite pity, and procure friends: an army of forty thousand men declared in her favour, and she escaped from prison to put herself at their head. But this was only to encounter fresh misfortunes; the new regent took the field against her; a battle was fought at Langside, near Glasgow, in which Mary was totally defeated. Unable any longer to continue in Scotland, and unwilling to retreat to France in her present forlorn condition,

where she had formerly appeared with so much splendour ; and being unprovided with a ship to transport her there, she determined, as the least evil, to throw herself, for protection, on the Queen of England.

As soon as Elizabeth was informed that the Queen of Scots had taken shelter in her dominions, she directed Lady Scrope, sister to the Duke of Norfolk, who resided in those parts, to attend on the princess ; who was afterwards lodged in the castle of Carlisle, and treated with a respect becoming her rank : but, at the same time, Elizabeth refused to see her, until she had cleared herself of the crimes with which she was charged. Whilst a principle of honour might well warrant such a conduct, the queen hereby served her own purposes ; for by this means, she, in a manner, constituted herself an umpire of the differences between the Queen of Scots and her subjects ; and both parties, accordingly, pleaded their cause before her : first at York, and then at Hampton-court ; Mary, by deputies of her appointing ; and the Earl of Murray, the regent, in person. The Queen of England found it for her interest to protract the business ; she, therefore, lengthened out the pleadings on both sides, and enjoyed the pleasure of seeing her rival humbled, without passing any definitive sentence. The regent of Scotland, to justify his conduct in taking up arms against his sovereign, produced a number of love-letters and sonnets, written by Queen Mary to Bothwell, which incontestably laid open, not only her vicious intercourse with that nobleman, but the part she took in the murder of her husband, the lord Darnley ; and the contrivance of her being surprised by Bothwell, and forced by him, as related above.

The authenticity of these letters, the commissioners, on the part of the Queen of Scots, did not attempt to invalidate ; and the proofs which they contained were so clear and unequivocal, as to leave little room for chicane and subterfuge. Her advocates, therefore, did

did not choose to attempt a defence, they only endeavoured to change the ground of proceeding; and, instead of entering into the question of the queen their mistress's guilt or innocence, to solicit the Queen of England to mediate between the Queen Scots and her subjects. The conference being broken off, Mary was removed, by order of Elizabeth, from Bolton, in Lancashire, to Tutbury, in Staffordshire, where she was put under the custody of the Earl of Shrewsbury.

The misconduct of Mary produced great national mischiefs; the people, divided into factions, and, inspired with mutual animosity, were seditious and unruly: the regent, in attempting to quell an insurrection, was slain.

Whilst Elizabeth was employed in bringing Scotland to a compliance with her measures, she found herself attacked in her own dominions. Pope Pius V. who had succeeded Paul, after having endeavoured, in vain, to conciliate, by gentle means, the favour of Elizabeth, whom his predecessor's violence had irritated, issued, at last, a bull of excommunication against her. John Felton, grand-uncle to him whom we are shortly to see act another desperate part, affixed this bull to the gates of the Bishop of London's palace; and, scorning either to fly or to deny the fact, was seized, and condemned: he might have received pardon on acknowledging his crime, but he refused it to the last, and was hanged near the place, meeting death with the most undaunted fortitude. It seems probable, that this attack on the queen's authority was made in concert with Mary, who intended, by that means, to forward a rebellion, fomenting among the Roman Catholics in the north of England.

These efforts in favour of the Queen of Scots only served to render her an object which the English ministry destined for destruction. However, the anathema of the pope being regarded by the nation with great indifference, the two queens entered into various nego-

ciations, and frivolous treaties : the one attempting to humble her prisoner ; the other, with fruitless pride, labouring to preserve the lustre of fallen majesty. The Duke of Norfolk, the most powerful peer in England, had been encouraged by the Earl of Leicester, and several other noblemen, to make a tender of marriage to the captive queen ; and it was determined, among the promoters of this union, that the consent of Elizabeth should not be applied for, until they had strengthened their hands by a secret, but a pretty general, communication of the design, to the leading men in Scotland, as well as those in England. The open lewdness of Mary, which had hurried her to the atrocious crime of confederating with her paramour to murder her husband, did not prevent her from being sought in marriage, because she inherited a crown, although Bothwell, her third husband, was still living : but from that marriage they reckoned to procure a divorce. Sir William Cecil, secretary of state, was the most vigilant, active, and prudent, minister ever known in England ; and as he was governed by no views but the interest of his sovereign, which he had inflexibly pursued, his influence with her became stronger every day. Ever cool himself, and unbiassed by prejudice or affection, he checked those sallies of passion, and sometimes of caprice, to which his mistress was subject ; and, if he failed of persuading her in the first emotion, his persevering remonstrances and arguments were sure, at last, to recommend themselves to her sound discernment. The more credit he gained with his mistress, the more was he exposed to the envy of her other counsellors ; and as he had been supposed to adopt the interests of the house of Suffolk, whose claim to the succession seemed to carry with it no danger to the quiet of Elizabeth, his enemies, in opposition to him, were led, merely from that motive, to attach themselves to the Queen of Scots. The Queen of England saw, without uneasiness, this emulation among
her

her courtiers, which served to strengthen her own authority; and though she constantly supported Cecil, whenever matters came to extremities, and dissipated every conspiracy formed against him, yet she never gave him such unlimited confidence, as might enable him entirely to crush his adversaries.

This vigilant minister soon traced out the designs which were formed in favour of the Duke of Norfolk; and, though no overt-act of treason had been committed, yet the duke was seized on, and committed a prisoner to the Tower; from whence he was, after a short time, released, upon his promising to drop all intercourse with the Queen of Scots. The duke, after this, finding that, although his life was spared, yet the former confidence and favour which he enjoyed with the queen was lost, was hurried, by impatience and despair, to break his word, and open anew his correspondence with the captive princess. A promise of marriage was renewed between them: the duke engaged to enter into all her interests; and, as his remorse gradually diminished in the course of these transactions, he was pushed to give his consent to enterprizes still more criminal. Rodolphi, a Florentine merchant residing in London, who was employed by the pope to negotiate with the catholics in England, proposed that the Duke of Alva should, on some other pretence, assemble a great quantity of shipping in the Low Countries, and transport a body of six thousand foot, and four thousand horse, into England; should land them at Harwich, where the Duke of Norfolk was to join them with all his friends; and should thence march directly to London, and oblige the queen to submit to whatever terms the conspirators should please to impose on her. The duke, in the whole progress of this business, shewed little sagacity and conduct; the penetrating and watchful eye of the ministry soon discovered the whole plot. Norfolk was seized; a jury of twenty-five peers unanimously passed sentence upon

upon him; and the queen, at length, after she had been withheld, either by real or pretended motives of compassion, (for no one could dissemble more speciously than Elizabeth) consented to his execution; but not before the house of commons had addressed her, in strong terms, on that head. The execution took place on the 2d of June, 1572. The duke was grandson to Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, who has been spoken of as high admiral, when Earl of Surrey, and who was sentenced to death in the reign of Henry VIII. and died in the year 1554, and son of Henry, Earl of Surrey, beheaded in the reign of Henry VIII.

A long interval succeeded, in which the plots of Mary, and her adherents, seemed either to be totally laid aside, or to have been incapable of being carried into effect. At length a very formidable conspiracy was formed, not only against the government, but the life of Elizabeth; in which the pope, the Kings of France and Spain, the Queen of Scots, together with the Roman catholic malcontents in England, were leagued. The chief instrument in bringing about this revolution was Babington, a native of Ireland, a man of parts and learning. By the assiduity of Cecil, now created Lord Burleigh and Walsingham, this formidable conspiracy was broken; fourteen of the conspirators were tried, convicted, and executed. There is no room to doubt the Queen of Scots had corresponded with Babington, and was a party in his conspiracy. The house of commons had addressed the queen, when the Duke of Norfolk's defection was detected, that Mary, who had been the fomentor of those troubles, should, herself, be brought to a trial for her crimes, and, if found guilty, suffer death; but Elizabeth, to shew her clemency, forbore to take such severe revenge on her rival. The ministry were now, however, bent on bringing this princess to the scaffold. To compass this design, it was resolved to try her; not by the common statute of treasons, but by a which

which had passed the former year, and which seemed particularly to be levelled at the machinations of the Queen of Scots. Forty noblemen, and privy counsellors, were appointed, by the queen, to try Mary; and a deputation, from the whole body, was sent to apprize her of the process commenced against her. The Queen of Scots received the news without betraying the appearance either of surprize or trepidation. She told the deputies, that she came into the kingdom an independent sovereign, to implore the queen's assistance, not to be subject to her authority. Adding, that her spirit was not so broken by her past misfortunes, nor so intimidated by present dangers, as to stoop to any thing unbecoming the majesty of a crowned head, or that would disgrace the ancestry from whom she was descended, and the son to whom she should leave her throne. "If," says she, "I must be tried, princes alone can be my peers; the subjects of the Queen of England, however noble their birth may be, are of a rank inferior to mine. Ever since my arrival in this kingdom, I have been confined as a prisoner; its laws never afforded me any protection, let them not now be perverted to take away my life."

This answer being reported to the commissioners, they sent a new deputation, informing her, that the plea either of her royal dignity, or of her imprisonment, could not be admitted; and that they were empowered to proceed to her trial, even though she should refuse to answer before them. They represented to her, among other things, that she was accused, indeed, but not condemned, of having conspired the destruction of Queen Elizabeth; and that neither her situation nor dignity exempted her from judgment for such a crime, whether the doctrine laid down by the civil or canon law, or by the law of nature or nations, was adhered to.

Mary

Mary was, at length, diverted from her purpose, and prevailed on to answer before the court. She was charged with having allowed Cardinal Allen, and others, to treat her as Queen of England; that she maintained a treasonable correspondence with Spain, designing thereby to encourage that court to attempt an invasion of England; by an intercepted letter of hers to the Spanish ambassador Mendoza, it was proved, that she had engaged to transfer to Philip her right to the kingdom of England, if her son should refuse to embrace the Romish religion. It was also proved, that she had instigated her adherents to seize the person of King James, and to deliver him into the hands of the pope, or the King of Spain. But the weightiest part of the charge brought against the Queen of Scots was, her concurring in the design of murdering the Queen of England, which was proved by copies taken of the intercepted letters between her and Babington, in which her approbation of the deed was clearly expressed; and this was further confirmed by the evidence of her two secretaries, and others, to whom Babington had shewed the letters. It is very probable that Mary was induced to acquiesce in a trial, relying on the assurances which had been given her of the candid and favourable manner in which it would be conducted; and presuming on the want of evidence which there was to bring home to her the crimes with which she was accused: in which case her acquittal would follow, and every imputation would be wiped away. But her every motion had been much more narrowly watched than she had the least suspicion of; and this security, probably, proved her destruction; for it is not likely that she would have been executed, if she had continued to protest against the power of the court to try her, and on that account had refused to make any defence. Having finished the trial, the commissioners adjourned from Fotheringay-castle, and met in the star-chamber at London; where they pronounced

nounced sentence of death on Mary Queen of Scots, and confirmed it by their seals and subscriptions. The same day a declaration was published, by the commissioners and judges, setting forth, that "the sentence did no wise derogate from the title and honour of James king of Scotland; but that he was in the same place, degree, and right, as if the sentence had never been pronounced."

Elizabeth affected the utmost aversion to put in force the sentence against Mary, although she was strongly urged to it by the parliaments which she had called together, most probably for no other purpose, than, by their interference, to give a sanction to that desperate measure.

When Elizabeth thought that as many importunities had been used, and as much delay interposed, as decency required; she, at last, determined to carry the sentence into execution: but even in this final resolution she could not proceed, without displaying a new scene of duplicity and artifice. In order to spread a general alarm, rumours were dispersed, that the Spanish fleet was arrived at Milford Haven; that the Scots had made an irruption into England; that the Duke of Guise was landed in Sussex with a strong army; that the Queen of Scots was escaped from prison, and had raised an army; that the northern counties had begun an insurrection; that there was a new conspiracy on foot to assassinate the Queen of England, and set the city of London on fire; nay, it went so far as to say, that the queen was actually assassinated. The queen affected to be in terror and perplexity; was observed to sit much alone, pensive and silent; and sometimes to mutter to herself half sentences, importing the difficulty and distress to which she was reduced. At length she directed her secretary Davison to draw a warrant for the execution of the Queen of Scots; which, she afterwards said, she intended to keep by her, in case any attempt should be

made for the rescue of that princess. This warrant she signed; and then ordered Davison to carry it to the chancellor, in order to have the great seal affixed to it. Next day she sent Killigrew to Davison, enjoining him to forbear executing her order for some time; and, when he came and told her that the warrant had already passed the great seal, she seemed to be somewhat moved, and blamed him for his precipitation. Davison, being in perplexity, acquainted the council with the whole transaction; and they endeavoured to persuade him to send off Beale with the warrant: if the queen should be displeased, they promised to justify his conduct, and to take on themselves the whole blame of this measure. The secretary, not sufficiently aware of their intention, complied with their advice; and the warrant was dispatched to the Earls of Shrewsbury and Kent, ordering them to see the sentence executed on the Queen of Scots. In consequence of which, this princess was beheaded at Fotheringay-castle, on the 7th of February, 1587. The firmness and composure with which she met her death, served greatly to obliterate the remembrance of those atrocious crimes, which had stamped with infamy the former part of her life. Soon after Elizabeth gave orders to have her body buried in the cathedral of Peterborough, with royal magnificence. But this vulgar artifice, says Dr. Robertson, was employed in vain; the pageantry of a pompous funeral did not efface the memory of those injuries which laid Mary in her grave. But if ever the plea of state necessity, so commonly urged by princes when they do violence to the principles of reason and justice, deserves to be admitted, it will be found to have weight in this instance, as Elizabeth's life, as well as crown, were daily exposed to the plots and confederacies excited by her active and intriguing rival. King James, soon after his accession to the throne of England, ordered his mother's body to be removed to Westminster-abbey, and to be deposited

sited among the monarchs of England. She died in the forty-fifth year of her age, and in the nineteenth of her captivity in England. She was a woman of great accomplishments, both of mind and body, natural as well as acquired: but it is necessary to view her as a queen, in order to divert the attention from her vices, if we could wish to behold her in any other light than that of an abandoned woman. When the queen was informed of Mary's execution, she affected the utmost surprize and indignation. She put herself in deep mourning for this deplorable event: none of her ministers, or counsellors, dared to approach her; or, if any had such temerity, she drove them from her with the most violent expressions of rage and resentment. She upbraided them with having been guilty of an unpardonable crime, in putting to death her dear sister and kinswoman, contrary to her fixed purpose, and with which they were fully acquainted. She soon after wrote a letter of apology to the King of Scots, wherein she told him, that "she wished he knew, without feeling, the unutterable grief which she experienced, on account of that lamentable accident, which, without her knowledge, much less concurrence, had happened in England. That she appealed to the Supreme Judge of heaven and earth for her innocence; and was also happy, amidst her other afflictions, to find, that many persons in her court could bear witness to her veracity in this protestation; and, on the other hand, deemed nothing more worthy of a prince than a sincere and open conduct; and could never, surely, be esteemed so base and poor-spirited, as that, if she had really given orders for this fatal execution, she could, on any consideration, be induced to deny them: that, though sensible of the justness of the sentence pronounced against the unhappy prisoner, she had determined, from clemency, never to carry it into execution; and could not but resent the temerity of those, who, on this occasion, had disappointed her in-

tention: and that as no one loved him more dearly than herself, or bore a more anxious concern for his welfare, she hoped, that he would consider every one as his enemy, who endeavoured, on account of the present incident, to excite any animosity between them." After all this laboured artifice to exculpate herself from the imputation of Mary's blood, nothing can be plainer than that she meant her execution; for the intervening time, between the arrival of the warrant at Fotheringhay-castle and the execution of the princess, furnished Elizabeth with an opportunity of revoking the order, if she had been sincere in her professions of sparing the life of one, at whose death she vented such boisterous effusions of grief.

Still farther to strengthen the protestations she had made, by her order Davison was committed to prison, and tried in the star-chamber for his misdemeanor. The secretary was confounded; and, being sensible of the danger which must attend his entering into a contest with the queen, he expressed penitence for his error, and submitted, very patiently, to be railed at by those very counsellors, whose persuasion had induced him to incur the guilt, and who had promised to countenance and protect him. He was condemned to imprisonment during the queen's pleasure, and to pay a fine of ten thousand pounds. He remained a long time in custody; and the fine, though it reduced him to beggary, was rigorously levied on him.

The important events arising out of the transactions with the Queen of Scots, rendered it proper to trace the outlines of her history in this work, as without it, no clear idea can be formed of the state of the kingdom at that period: we have done this in one continued series, for the sake of perspicuity: it will, therefore, be necessary now to take up the history where we left it.

The

The preparations made by Philip II. of Spain, for a descent on England, determined Queen Elizabeth to counteract the designs of her enemy, by attacking his harbours and arsenals; accordingly Sir Francis Drake sailed with a fleet of forty ships for the Spanish coast; many of the enemy's ships were destroyed or taken, and, in the ports of Cadiz and Lisbon, above one hundred vessels laden with provisions and ammunition were burnt. Proceeding from thence to the Azores, he took a rich Portuguese carrick from the East Indies, and an argosie full of rich merchandize. From the papers found on-board the former ship, Camden tells us, in his *Life of Queen Elizabeth*, that the English gained so thorough an insight into the nature and importance of the East-India trade, as well as the manner of carrying it on, that an idea of forming a company to trade thither was thereby suggested, and a few years after an East-India company was incorporated.

The authority with which the Earl of Leicester had been entrusted in the Netherlands, having been injudiciously exercised, had caused discontents and divisions in the newly united provinces, which Elizabeth was extremely solicitous to appease and heal, as the warlike preparations carrying on in Spain awakened the most serious apprehensions, and suggested to her she would soon have occasion for all the assistance which her allies could afford her. Philip had been employed for several months in building ships of an extraordinary size, and in collecting stores for their equipment; while his general, the Duke of Parma, had made such numerous levies in Germany, Italy, and the Netherlands, as shewed that he intended the next campaign to take the field with a much more powerful army than any which he had hitherto commanded. The whole of Philip's reign had been passed in some or other warlike attempt. At one time he had waged war with the Corsairs and Turks; at another he had

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been

been engaged in the reduction of the Moreoscoes, or of the kingdom of Portugal. Probably on these accounts it was, that he had never fully exerted his strength against his revolted subjects in the Netherlands. And, although his nature strongly prompted him to revenge, yet he had not found leisure as yet to take vengeance on Elizabeth for the support which she had given them, as well as for the insults which he had received from her in America, where several of his colonies had been plundered by her fleet; and heavy depredations made by private adventurers, either acting under her authority or secure of her connivance. As he thought himself sure of compelling the revolted Flemings to submit, with a much smaller force than that he intended to employ, he determined to exert his strength in the invasion of England; and he indulged himself with the fond conceit, that he should be able entirely to subdue that kingdom. He remained, however, for some time doubtful, as to the manner in which he should proceed; and held frequent meetings of his council to deliberate, whether it was most expedient to begin with the invasion of England, or first to reduce the United Provinces. Many of his most experienced counsellors advised the latter plan of conduct; among whom was Farnese duke of Parma, who assured the king, that he could not enter on the English expedition, with a prospect of success, before he had acquired possession of some of the most considerable of the sea-ports in Zealand, for the reception and accommodation of his fleet.

Although Philip was remarkable for his caution, yet in this instance he betrayed a want of it. The splendid success of his arms, in the rapid conquest of Portugal, had so dazzled his mind, that he thought it impossible for Elizabeth to withstand the powerful armament which he intended to send against her. These expectations were founded on the state of the kingdom, an open country, unprovided with any fortified towns,

towns, by which the progress of an enemy might be retarded. He concluded that one battle at sea, and another decisive one by land, would decide the contest; and, as the fleet which he was preparing was greatly superior to any which Elizabeth could equip, so he could not suppose that her land forces, undisciplined and unaccustomed to war, would be able to resist his veteran troops, which had been long enured to victory, and were commanded by the greatest general and the bravest officers in the world. He was not ignorant how much the other European powers had reason to be jealous of his design, but at that time they were either disinclined or incapable of opposing it. The Emperor of Germany was his friend and ally. The attention of the northern potentates was wholly engrossed with the internal administration of their own dominions; and the French monarch, who was more deeply interested than any other in opposing him, could with difficulty support himself upon the throne against his rebellious subjects. But there was nothing which contributed more to confirm him in his purpose, than the approbation which it received from the pope. It has been asserted of Sextus V. the then pontiff, that he entertained a very high admiration of the character of Elizabeth; but, however that may be, yet he considered her as the most formidable enemy that the church had ever seen upon a throne. She had not indeed, on any occasion, treated her Catholic subjects with that inhuman cruelty of which Philip had set her an example in his treatment of the Protestants, but she had shewn herself zealously disposed to further the reformation in every country in Europe where her power and influence extended. For almost thirty years she had been the chief support of the Protestants in Germany, the Netherlands, and France. By her means the popish faith was almost without adherents in Scotland, as well as in her own dominions. The recent execution of Mary Queen of Scots had ex-

cited

cited in the violent mind of his holiness the utmost rage and indignation. With these passions his interest concurred, and the hope of seeing England, which had formerly been the most precious jewel of the triple crown, brought back to the holy see, led him highly to approve of Philip's intended enterprize. Next to an insatiable thirst after dominion, it had ever been that king's supreme wish to be considered as the guardian of the church; and his vanity was not a little flattered at this time, with having the sovereign pontiff for his associate. He proceeded therefore with much alacrity in completing his preparations. But, though he resolved to spare no expence or pains to secure success, yet, to cause as little alarm as possible to Elizabeth, he carefully concealed the purpose for which his armament was intended, and gave out that a part of his fleet was designed to co-operate with his land forces in the reduction of Holland, and the remainder was to be employed in the defence of his American dominions. Elizabeth had too much penetration, and her ministers were too vigilant, to be thus imposed on by the pretences of a prince with whose duplicity they were so thoroughly acquainted. Accordingly we have seen Sir Francis Drake sent out with a fleet to the coast of Spain to intercept these preparations. Notwithstanding which act of hostility, Philip still affected to desire that all the grounds of difference between him and the English court might be removed, and gave orders to the Duke of Parma to propose a negociation for peace. The queen, though no ways deceived hereby, pretended to believe the declaration of the Spanish minister with regard to the destination of the fleet, and seemed to listen to the proposal of adjusting all differences. She readily accepted the mediation of the King of Denmark; and, that her conduct might have the greater appearance of sincerity, she urged the United States to send ambassadors to Bourbourg, in Flanders, the place appointed for

for the conferences. The Dutch were much alarmed at this pacific appearance, and dreaded, lest, in order to avert the storm which hung over England, Elizabeth had resolved to abandon the confederacy, and to deliver up to Philip the Dutch towns in her possession. To remove these apprehensions, the queen assured the States, that, so far from forsaking them, she never would consent to any terms of peace which were inconsistent with their security. The Dutch, however, declined sending any plenipotentiary to the congress. Many terms of accommodation were proposed in the conferences which were held; during which the Spanish ministers continued to assure those of England, that no invasion of that kingdom was intended.

In the mean time the most vigorous efforts were made to put the nation in a posture of defence. An army was raised, amounting to eighty thousand men; twenty thousand of whom were stationed on the south coasts of the island; twenty-two thousand foot, and a thousand horse, were encamped at Tilbury, in Essex; the command of which was entrusted to the Earl of Leicester; whilst a large body of troops, under Lord Hunsdon, were kept near the queen's person, in readiness to march against the enemy, wherever they should attempt to land. All the sea-ports which lay most exposed to the attacks of the Spaniards were fortified; the militia was embodied, provided with arms, and trained to the use of them. Beacons were erected at proper distances, to give an immediate alarm all over the kingdom, as soon as an enemy attempted to land; and every means, for the public safety, was used which prudence and foresight could suggest.

Whilst the whole nation was thus uniting to repel the threatened attack on land, the like assiduity was used in the equipment of a fleet. The whole amount of the royal navy, before these preparations began,

was no more than thirty ships, and none of these were nearly equal in size to those of the enemy. But this seeming disadvantage was amply compensated by the skill and dexterity of the English sailors; and the number of ships was soon augmented, through the alacrity and zeal which the queen's subjects shewed in her defence. By her wise administration, she had acquired their esteem and confidence: the animosity against her person and government, which the differences in religion had excited in the minds of some, was, at present, swallowed up in that universal abhorrence which the catholics, as well as the protestants, entertained of the tyranny of Spain. Great pains were taken to keep alive and cherish that abhorrence. Accounts were spread of the horrid barbarities which the Spaniards had perpetrated in the Netherlands and in America: descriptions were drawn, in the blackest colours, of the inhuman cruelties of the inquisition: and pictures were dispersed of the various instruments of torture employed by the inquisitors, of which, it is said, there was abundant store on-board the Spanish fleet. These representations made a strong impression, not only on the protestants, but likewise on the catholics; who, although the pope had published a bull of excommunication against the queen, yet resolved not to come short of the protestants, either in loyalty to their sovereign or in zeal for the independence of the state. The whole kingdom was of one mind and spirit: some catholics entered into the army as volunteers, and others joined with the protestants in equipping armed vessels. Every maritime town fitted out one or more. The citizens of London furnished thirty, although only fifteen were required of them; and between forty and fifty were equipped by the nobility and gentry throughout the kingdom. The queen herself maintained a firm and intrepid spirit in the midst of the impending danger, which inspired all ranks of her subjects with resolution and fortitude.

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At the same time the states of Holland were equally active, considering their danger as imminent as if Philip had intended to begin his operations with an attack upon the Netherlands. From their fears of an immediate attack they were delivered by accounts of the enormous size of the Spanish ships, to which the coasts of Holland and Zealand were inaccessible. They turned their principal attention, therefore, to the assistance of their ally; and kept their fleet, consisting of more than eighty ships, ready for action. At the desire of Queen Elizabeth, they sent thirty of that number to cruise between Calais and Dover; and afterwards, when the Prince of Parma's design of transporting his army to England was certainly known, they ordered Justin de Nassau, admiral of Zealand, to join Lord Seymour, one of the English admirals, with thirty-five ships, to block up those sea-ports in Flanders where the prince intended to embark.

The grand fleet of England was stationed at Plymouth, the chief command of which was given to Charles lord Howard of Effingham, lord high admiral, who had under him, as vice-admiral, Sir Francis Drake; and, for his rear-admiral, Sir John Hawkins. The whole fleet was manned and commanded by the most expert and brave seamen in the world.

In the beginning of May 1588, Philip's preparations, which had kept all Europe in amazement and suspense, were brought to a conclusion. That armada, which, in the confidence of success, the Spaniards had styled invincible, consisted of one hundred and fifty ships, most of which were greatly superior, in strength and size, to any that had been seen before. It had on-board, besides galley-slaves that worked at the oar, upwards of twenty thousand soldiers, and eight thousand sailors, besides two thousand volunteers, descended from the most considerable families in Spain. It carried two thousand six hundred and fifty great guns; was victualled for half a year; and contained such a quan-

tity of military stores, as only the Spanish monarch, enriched as he was by the treasures of both the Indies, could supply.

The preparations in the Netherlands, under the Prince of Parma, were not less advanced than those of Spain. He had assembled a well-provided army of thirty thousand foot, and four thousand horse, in the vicinity of Nieuport and Dunkirk; and had provided a great number of flat-bottomed vessels, fit for transporting both horse and foot; and had brought sailors to navigate them, from the towns on the coast of the Baltic. Most of these vessels had been built at Antwerp; and as he durst not venture to bring them from thence, by sea, to Nieuport, lest they should have been intercepted by the Dutch; he was obliged to send them along the Scheld to Ghent; from hence to Bruges, by the canal which joins those towns; and from Bruges to Nieuport by a new canal, which he caused to be dug for the purpose. This laborious undertaking, in which several thousand workmen had been employed, was already finished, and the prince now waited for the arrival of the Spanish fleet; hoping, that, as soon as it should approach, the Dutch and English ships that cruised upon the coast would retire into their harbours.

The command of the armada was originally designed to have been entrusted to the Marquis de Santa Cruz, a nobleman of tried valour and skill, who had acquired great honour in the famous battle of Lepanto, and was considered as the first naval officer in Spain; but, at the very time fixed for the departure of the fleet, he was seized with a violent fever, of which he died in a few days; and, by a singular fatality, the Duke de Paliano, the second in command, died likewise at the same time. The Duke of Medina Sidonia, Don Alphonso de Gusman, was hereupon appointed to the chief command, a nobleman of considerable merit, but entirely unacquainted with maritime affairs; under whom,

whom, for vice-admiral, was Don Martinez de Ricalde, an old Biscayan, and a seaman of great experience, who was entrusted with the conducting of the expedition, and by whose advice the admiral was entirely governed.

By these new arrangements so much time was lost, that the fleet could not leave Lisbon till the 29th of May. It had not advanced far in its way to Corunna, or the Groyne, where it was directed to proceed for some additional troops and stores, before it was overtaken by a violent storm, and dispersed. All the fleet, except four ships, reached that harbour. In three of the missing ships, the galley-slaves, consisting of English, French, and Turks, taking advantage of the confusion occasioned by the storm, overpowered the Spaniards, and carried their ships into a harbour on the coast of Bayonne.

Meanwhile the utmost diligence was used in repairing the damage which the fleet had sustained by the storm; notwithstanding, several weeks elapsed before it was in a condition to put to sea again.

This delay caused a report to be brought to England, that the armada had suffered so much by the storm, as to be rendered incapable of proceeding on the intended enterprize; and so well attested was this intelligence, that Elizabeth directed her secretary, Walsingham, to write to Lord Effingham, directing him to lay up four of his largest ships, and to discharge the seamen. The admiral was, happily, less credulous on this occasion, than either the queen or her minister, and desired that he might be allowed to retain those ships in his service, even though it should be at his own expence, till more certain information was received. In order to procure it, he set sail with a brisk north wind for Corunna, intending, in case he should find the armada so much disabled as had been reported, to attempt to burn it in the harbour. When he arrived off the coast of Spain, he was informed of the real condition

condition of the enemy: at the same time, the wind having shifted from north to south, he began to dread lest the Spaniards should have sailed for England, and therefore proceeded, with all speed, to his former station at Plymouth.

Soon after his arrival, he was informed that the armada was in sight. He immediately weighed anchor, and sailed out of the harbour, but not without great difficulty, as the wind blew hard into Plymouth Sound. Still he was uncertain of the course which the enemy intended to pursue. On the next day, being the 20th of July, he saw the Spanish navy drawn up in the form of a crescent, sailing slowly through the channel, and extending seven miles from one extremity to another. The English admiral suffered them to pass by quietly, that, having the advantage of the wind, he might the better attack them in the rear, which he performed with equal courage and success.

It was the opinion of many persons in that age, that the most prudent conduct for Spain to have pursued, would have been to have landed at Plymouth, instead of proceeding up the channel. By this measure it was supposed, that the whole force of the nation would have been drawn towards the south-west coast, which would have rendered it easier for the Prince of Parma to have transported his troops to the opposite shore of Dunkirk and Nieuport. But it is probable that Spain would have availed itself little of this step, although England would have suffered, for a while, very severely, by the inroad of such a force, notwithstanding it was able, with only a part of its strength, to make head against it. Nor would the Prince of Parma have had it in his power to have made a descent from his quarter, as the Dutch fleet alone was able to block up the sea-ports of Flanders. But, if the Duke of Medina ever intended to make a descent at Plymouth, he soon changed his design, and adhered closely afterwards to the execution of the plan prescribed to him by the court

court of Spain; which was, to steer quite through the channel, till he should reach the coast of Flanders; and, after driving away the Dutch and English ships, by which the harbours of Nieuport and Dunkirk were blocked up, to take on-board the Prince of Parma's army, sail up the Thames, and make the first attack on the city of London.

The English admiral soon found an opportunity of attacking Don Martinez de Ricalde, the Spanish vice-admiral. This he did in person; and displayed so much dexterity in working his ship, and in loading and firing his guns, as greatly alarmed the Spanish fleet for the fate of their commander. He, however, escaped, but sustained much damage; and more would have been done, but that a great part of the English fleet lay at too great a distance; so that the admiral was forced to wait for them. From that time the Spaniards kept much closer to one another; notwithstanding which, the English, on the same day, attacked one of their largest galleasses. Other Spanish ships came up, in time, to her relief; but, in the confusion hereby occasioned, one of the principal galleons, which had a great part of the treasure on-board, ran foul of another ship, by which she sprung her foremast; being thus disabled, and the following night proving very dark, she fell into the hands of Sir Francis Drake, who sent her captain, Don Pedro de Valdez, to Dartmouth; and left the money on-board, amounting to fifty thousand ducats, to be plundered by his men.

The next day was spent by the Spanish admiral in disposing his fleet, giving orders to his officers, and dispatching an advice-boat to hasten the Prince of Parma, by giving him an account of the danger to which the fleet was exposed. On the 23d, other encounters happened; in all of which the English derived great advantage from the lightness of their ships and the dexterity of their sailors. The Spaniards, in that age, did not sufficiently understand nautical mechanics,

to be able to avail themselves of the unusual magnitude of their ships. The English sailed round them, approached, or retired, with a velocity that filled them with amazement, and did infinitely greater execution with their cannon; for, while every shot of theirs took place, their ships received very little damage from the enemy, whose guns were planted too high, and generally spent their force in air.

On the 24th the English were able to do very little for want of ammunition; but a supply arriving in the evening, the admiral made the necessary dispositions for attacking the Spaniards in the dead of the night, dividing his fleet into four squadrons; the first commanded by himself in person; the second by Sir Francis Drake; the third by Admiral Hawkins; and the fourth by Capt. Martin Frobisher; but a dead calm prevented the execution of this design. On the 25th, one of the Spanish ships was taken; after which the admiral resolved to make no farther attempts upon them, till they should enter the Straits of Dover, where he knew Lord Henry Seymour, and Sir William Winter, waited for them with a fresh squadron. He likewise took this opportunity of knighting Lord Thomas Howard, Lord Sheffield, Roger Townsend, Admiral Hawkins, and Captain Frobisher, for their gallant behaviour throughout the engagement.

Notwithstanding the prosperous issue of these skirmishes, yet, in the onset, the admiral ran the utmost hazard of being taken by the enemy; for Sir Francis Drake being appointed, the first night of the engagement, to carry lights for the direction of the English fleet, being in full pursuit of some hulks belonging to the Hanse Towns, he neglected it; which occasioned the admiral to follow the Spanish lights, by which he remained almost in the centre of their fleet till morning. However, Drake's succeeding services sufficiently effaced the memory of this mistake, especially as the prudence and conduct of Lord Effingham enabled him,

when he discovered his situation in the midst of the Spanish fleet, to retire without sustaining any loss.

The armada continued to advance till it came opposite to Calais, where, having cast anchor, on the 27th of July, the Duke of Medina acquainted the general of his arrival, and entreated him to hasten the embarkation of his forces. Farnese, whilst he prepared to put his troops on-board, informed the Spanish admiral, that the vessels which had been constructed, agreeable to the king's instructions, were only fit for transporting the troops, being incapable of making any resistance if attacked; therefore, till the Spanish ships of force could approach so near the ports as to cover the embarkation, and drive away the Dutch ships, which had blocked up the harbours of Dunkirk and Nieuport, he could make no advances, without exposing his army to certain ruin, the consequence of which would probably be, the entire loss of the Netherlands.

Hereupon the Spanish fleet was ordered to draw nearer in shore; and was advancing within sight of Dunkirk, with the English fleet on one side, and the Dutch fleet on the other, when a sudden calm fell, which prevented its farther progress. In this situation the three fleets remained for a whole day. On the 7th of August, in the night, a breeze sprung up, and Lord Howard resolved to practise an expedient long before thought of, in case the enemy should have come up the Thames: he, therefore, filled eight large barks with pitch and sulphur, and other combustible materials; and sent them, under the command of the Captains Young and Prowse, about midnight, into the thickest part of the Spanish fleet, right before the wind, where they presently began to blaze. The darkness of the night increased the terror with which the Spaniards were filled, when they saw these ships in flames, approaching towards them. The panic instantly spread over the whole fleet. Each, anxious

only for his own preservation, thought of nothing but how to escape from the present danger: some of the ships took time to weigh their anchors, but others cut their cables, and drove, with wild precipitation, wherever the wind and the sea carried them. In this confusion the ships ran foul of one another: the shock was dreadful, and several of them received so much damage, as to be rendered unfit for future service. When day-light returned, the English admiral had the satisfaction to see that his attempt on the Spanish fleet had fully taken effect; the enemy were still in extreme disorder, and their ships widely separated and dispersed, whilst the English fleet had received a great augmentation of ships, fitted out by the nobility and gentry, as well as by those under Lord Seymour, who had left Justin de Nassau, the Dutch admiral, he being able alone to guard the coast of Flanders. Lord Howard, being bravely seconded by Sir Francis Drake and all the other officers, made haste to improve the advantage which was now presented to him, and attacked the enemy, in different quarters at the same time, with the utmost impetuosity. The engagement began at four in the morning, and lasted till six at night. The Spaniards displayed, in every rencounter, the most intrepid bravery; but, from the causes already mentioned, did very little execution against the English, whilst many of their own ships were greatly damaged; and ten of the largest were either run a-ground, sunk, or compelled to strike. The principal galleass, having on-board Mauriquez, the inspector-general, with three hundred galley-slaves, and four hundred soldiers, was driven a-shore, on the sands of Calais; where she was attacked by some English pinnaces, who were supported by the admiral's long-boat, on-board of which were some picked soldiers. Moncada, who commanded, was slain; and almost all the Spaniards either fell in the conflict, or were drowned in attempting to reach the shore. The rowers were set at liberty: about fifty thousand

thousand ducats were found on-board. Mauriquez escaped, and was the first who carried to Spain the news of the disaster which had befallen the fleet.

One of the capital ships, after a long engagement with an English ship of force, at length sunk, and only some few of the crew were saved. These related, that, one of the officers on-board having proposed to surrender the ship, another officer, enraged at the proposal, killed him on the spot; whilst he himself was immediately killed by a brother of the first. In the midst of this bloody scene, which paints the ferocious character of the Spaniards, the ship sunk. The fate of two other of the Spanish galleons is particularly mentioned by cotemporary writers. One of them is called the St. Philip, and the other the St. Matthew: they had on-board, besides several other nobility, two general officers; Don Francis Toledo, of the family of Orgas, and Don Diego Pimentel, brother to the Marquis of Tomnarez. After an obstinate engagement, in which the admiral's ship fought along with them, they were obliged to run a-shore on the coast of Flanders, where they were taken by the Dutch. Toledo was drowned; Pimentel, with all the rest who survived, were made prisoners.

Medina Sidonia was much dejected at these misfortunes, and still more, when he reflected on the superior skill of the enemy; for it is well attested, that, in all the engagements that had passed since the first appearance of the armada in the channel, the English had lost only one small ship, and about a hundred men. Inspired by such signal success, with sanguine hopes of final victory, they were now become more formidable than ever. The admiral of Spain dreaded the total destruction of his fleet, from a continuance of the combat: he could not, without the greatest danger, remain any longer in that situation; and much less could he venture to approach any nearer to the coast of Flanders.

It now appeared how great an error Philip had committed in neglecting to secure some commodious harbours in Zealand. He had concluded, that the enemy's ships would retreat into their ports on the first approach of his stupendous armada; which, in fact, he had rendered incapable of performing the service for which it was designed, by means of that enormous expence which he bestowed, in order to render it invincible. In constructing it, no attention had been paid to the nature of those narrow seas in which it was to be employed; and the consequence of this capital error was, that, even if the English fleet had been unable to contend with the Spanish in the deeper parts of the channel, yet it would have prevented the Spaniards from landing; and the Dutch fleet lying in shallow water, to which the galleons durst not approach, would still have kept their station, and have rendered it impossible for the Spanish fleet and army to act in concert.

The Duke de Medina took this opportunity of calling a council of war, wherein it was resolved, that, as there were no hopes left of succeeding, it was the most prudent conduct to direct all their attention to the saving of the fleet. To return through the channel was not, at that time, practicable, as a strong wind blew from the north-west; neither was it adviseable to wait for its shifting, in order to steer that course, as they would be continually harrassed by the enemy. They, therefore, determined to make all the sail they could for their own coast, going north-about, making the circuit of the British Isles. The English admiral, very prudently, sent Lord Henry Seymour, with a strong squadron, to cruise on the coast of Zealand, and thereby to prevent the Spanish fleet forming a junction with the Prince of Parma; whilst he himself, with the chief of his fleet, hovered about that of Spain. Thus he kept close in their rear without attacking them: had not his ammunition fallen short, by the negligence
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of the officers in supplying the fleet, he had obliged the whole armada to surrender at discretion; for so great was the distress of the Spanish fleet, and such their admiral's dread of the long and perilous voyage before him, that it is asserted by Grotius, he would have surrendered without resistance, in case he had been attacked. But he was rescued from the disgrace which such an act would have entailed upon his name, by the English admiral being compelled to return home, to supply the deficiency of his stores.

When the Spanish fleet arrived off the Scottish coast, and found that care was every where taken that they should meet with no supplies, they threw their horses and mules overboard; and such of them as had a proper store of water bore away directly for the Bay of Biscay, with the Duke of Medina Sidonia, making in all about twenty-five ships: the rest, about forty sail, under the command of the vice-admiral, stood for the coast of Ireland, intending to have watered at Cape Clare. On the 2d of September, however, a tempest arose, and drove most of them a-shore; so that upwards of thirty ships, and many thousand men, perished. Some likewise were forced, a second time, into the English channel, where they were taken; some by the English, and others by the Rochellers. Several very large vessels were lost among the western isles, and along the coast of Argyleshire. Out of these, about five hundred persons were saved, who came into Edinburgh almost naked: their distress excited the compassion of the citizens, who relieved and clothed them; and, by their assistance, a vessel was procured to convey them to Spain. But their misfortunes were not to end here; for in their passage home they were driven on the coast of Norfolk, and compelled to put into Yarmouth, where they were detained, whilst an express was sent to the queen, and council, for direction how they were to be treated. The government, taking into consideration the miseries they had already endured,

endured, and not being willing to appear less compassionate than the Scots, gave orders that they should be suffered to proceed on their voyage.

Thus, in the short space of a month, this mighty fleet, which had been three years preparing, was miserably and disgracefully destroyed. Medina Sidonia being reduced to the mortifying necessity of passing those seas as a fugitive, which he had before assured himself he should ride on as a conqueror. Thus, not only England, Scotland, and Ireland, together with the new republic of the United Netherlands, were preserved from impending ruin; but the general liberties of Europe, as well as the protestant religion, were permanently established. At this time the monarchy of Spain was the most potent power in Christendom; but the bigotted and narrow views of its kings, and their ministers, and the growing power of England and Holland, and soon afterwards of France, when it began to breathe from the civil wars, with which it had long been convulsed, all contributed to reduce the consequence of Spain: that kingdom, soon after, gave strong symptoms of its declension, which has been gradually advancing ever since, till at length imbecility has become constitutional.

Of one hundred and thirty ships which sailed out of the harbour of Corunna, no more than fifty-three, or fifty-four, returned; and near twenty thousand persons perished in the expedition.

The calamities of the Spaniards did not end on the return of their shattered fleet. Two of the galleons, which had withstood the fury of the tempestuous ocean, and the attacks of the enemy, were accidentally set on fire, and burnt to the water's edge, as they lay at anchor in the harbour. Great numbers of the nobility and gentry, accustomed to ease and indulgence, died at sea; and others contracted diseases, by the hardships and fatigues they underwent, of which they afterwards died: there was scarcely a family of rank in the

the kingdom, that did not put on mourning for some relation lost; infomuch, that Philip, dreading the consequences which might arise from the general face of sorrow, imitated the conduct of the Roman senate, and published an edict to abridge the time of mourning.

The King of Spain, who was a slave to his ambition, but had an entire command over his countenance and demeanour, was no sooner informed of this mortifying event, which, at once, blasted all his hopes, than he fell on his knees, and, rendering thanks for that gracious dispensation of Providence, expressed his joy that the calamity was not greater. The Spanish priests, who had so often blessed this holy crusade, and foretold its infallible success, were somewhat at a loss to account for a victory gained over the catholic monarch, by excommunicated heretics, and an execrable usurper: but they, at last, discovered, that all the calamities of the Spaniards had proceeded from their allowing the infidel Moors to live among them.

While the people of Spain were thus overwhelmed with affliction, nothing was to be heard in England, and the United Provinces, but the voice of festivity and joy. In both countries medals were struck, in commemoration of the happy event; and days of solemn thanksgiving to heaven were appointed for their deliverance. Elizabeth went, for this purpose, to St. Paul's cathedral, seated in a triumphal chariot, and surrounded by her ministers and nobles, amidst a great number of flags and trophies, which had been taken from the enemy; whilst the citizens were ranged in arms on each side of the streets through which she passed.

Grotius passes a fine encomium on the English, for their bravery and conduct, in opposing this formidable armament of Spain. "The glory of Greece and Rome," says he, "which states anciently effected some of their greatest exploits by naval victories, was, in these times, undoubtedly equalled by the fortune
and

and valour of the English ; although their conquests were more slowly, as well as more safely, obtained over Spain.”

After all, though nothing could surpass the bravery of the English, and their maritime skill was equally displayed with their valour, yet the unpardonable neglect of furnishing the fleet with a supply of ammunition was very near rendering the triumph incomplete ; and it was, at last, the war of elements that effectually crushed the power of Spain. And here let us reflect a little on an enterprize, which had filled all Europe with anxiety or expectation. The Spanish troops were, at that time, the best soldiers in the world, having been formed by a long series of actual service, being commanded by brave and experienced officers, and having, at their head, Farnese prince of Parma, a most renowned commander. The English, on the contrary, had enjoyed a profound peace for upwards of thirty years ; during which time, they must be supposed to have relaxed something of their martial spirit, and to have greatly declined in their military skill : at their head too was the Earl of Leicester, a nobleman every way disqualified to be opposed to Farnese. If the whole land-force of Spain, destined for this invasion, had been united, it would have amounted to something short of fifty thousand men ; and this army was designed to reduce the whole kingdom to slavery : a kingdom governed by a sovereign universally beloved, and who was assisted by ministers eminently distinguished for capacity and vigilance. The tyranny of the Spanish government was so execrated, that the dread of being brought under it had united those of the most opposite sentiments and interest ; the natural prowess and force of the English had, in every age, given them an ascendancy over the best troops of any country, and even when contending with superior numbers ; but at this time eighty thousand men were actually embodied, armed, and trained to action ; every individual,

individual of whom may be supposed to have felt the importance of the cause in which he was embarked: no other choice was left but of victory, death, or slavery. If, therefore, the total disregard shewn by Philip to the conciliating the affections of any one sect, or party, in the kingdom, as well as the natural warlike spirit of the people, are considered, his projected conquest of England will be thought as desperate an expedition as was ever set on foot. When William I. invaded this country, he was at the head of a larger army, had some adherents, held forth to the body of the people assurances of liberty and personal security; besides that, the country was then much less populous; and yet nothing but the wonderful success which crowned his arms exempted him from the imputation of rashness and folly. Had the Duke of Parma, and his Spaniards, got a footing in England, they might indeed have ravaged and laid waste a considerable part of the kingdom; but that he would, in the end, have been driven out of it, may surely be concluded with as much certainty as any future and contingent event admits of. Nothing, however, could be more beneficial to England than the universal alarm which the apprehension of this invasion spread, as thereby the spirit of the nation was roused to such exertions as never would have been made on any occasion less stimulating. The nation, by that means, felt itself to possess a degree of strength, and of internal resources, far beyond what it was before supposed capable; and, this fact, once ascertained, drew forth all the latent springs of action into great and beneficial undertakings.

This Spanish armada consisted of one hundred and thirty-two ships, and twenty caravels; being fifty-nine thousand one hundred and twenty tons, exclusive of the tonnage of three pinnaces, four galleasses, four gallies, and the caravels; carrying three thousand one hundred and sixty-five pieces of cannon, eight thousand seven hundred and sixty-six mariners, twenty-

one thousand eight hundred and fifty-five foldiers, two thousand and eighty-eight galley-slaves ; in all thirty-two thousand, seven hundred and nine men.

Two days after the dispersion of the Spanish armada, the Earl of Leicester died ; the great but unworthy favourite of Elizabeth, whose affection continued to the last. He had discovered no conduct in any of his military enterprizes, and was suspected of cowardice. Not content with entrusting to him the command in chief of her troops, during the danger of the Spanish invasion, she had ordered a commission to be drawn for him, constituting him her lieutenant in the kingdoms of England and Ireland ; but Burleigh and Hatton represented to her the danger of entrusting such unlimited authority in the hands of any subject, and thereby prevented its taking place. No wonder that a conduct so unlike the usual jealousy of Elizabeth gave reason to suspect that her partiality was founded on some other passion than friendship. But the queen seemed to carry her affection to Leicester no farther than the grave ; for she ordered his goods to be disposed of by public sale, in order to reimburse herself of some debts which he owed her ; thereby shewing, that her attention to money prevailed over her regard to the memory of the deceased.

The titles and places which this favourite enjoyed were these : knight of the orders of the Garter and St. Michael ; privy-counsellor ; master of the horse ; steward of the queen's household ; constable of Windsor-castle ; chancellor of the university of Oxford ; justice in Eyre of all the forests south of Trent ; lieutenant, and captain-general of the forces in the Netherlands.

The nation was no sooner delivered from its apprehensions from Spain, than the attention of its sovereign, her ministers, and, in short, the whole body of people, was bent on advancing the consequence of the state, by every means of improving its natural advantages.

tages. To encourage sailors to enter into the navy by securing to them a comfortable provision when disabled, the chest of Chatham was this year erected, by the advice and assistance of Sir Francis Drake. This regulation gave rise to the noble foundation of Greenwich Hospital. The next year the queen took the most effectual measures for retaliating on her enemies the mischiefs which they intended to have brought on her, and, at the same time, eased the revenue from supporting the burden of the war. The expedient adopted to answer these two grand national purposes was, to encourage private adventurers to enter into confederacies for the fitting out of ships, and raising a force, to annoy and plunder the Spaniards on their coasts. Hereupon a considerable armament was set on foot; the queen only furnishing a few ships, and giving the enterprize the sanction of her authority. Sir Francis Drake commanded the fleet, and Sir John Norris the army: the avowed design of the expedition was, to recover the crown of Portugal for Don Antonio, from whom Philip had wrested it. Stowe makes the number of ships assembled for this occasion to be one hundred and forty-six, and fourteen thousand men; but Camden and Rapin reduce the number of each. With the force thus collected, however, they landed at Corunna, in Gallicia, commonly called the Groyne; the lower town they took, but were foiled in their attempts upon the higher. Peniche next fell into their hands; after which the army proceeded to Lisbon, and were followed by the fleet. The force which Philip had, by this time, assembled, rendered their designs upon this capital abortive. The object of the expedition being private gain, a scrupulous adherence to the rights of neutral powers was not likely to be observed; here, therefore, by way of indemnification, as Camden says, they seized upon sixty hulks, or fly-boats, belonging to the German Hanse Towns. The English maintained the legality of their seizure against

the remonstrances of Dantzick, Poland, and the Empire, where the property vested; and, at length, a total breach between England and the Hanse Towns ensued. Being unequal to the reduction of Lisbon, the English turned their force against Vigo, which they sacked, and returned to England, with one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, and a very rich booty, which was to compensate for the loss of six thousand men. This is, perhaps, the greatest privateering enterprize of any which the modern history of the world furnishes.

In the year 1590 the queen farmed her customs for fifty thousand pounds per annum. Until this time they had been farmed to the same person, Sir Thomas Smith, for fourteen thousand pounds per annum.

The royal navy was now put on a more regular footing than it had hitherto been, and the queen allotted the yearly sum of eight thousand nine hundred and seventy pounds for the repairs of it.

About this time the private adventurers in the nation were grown very numerous; and, being encouraged, by having so rich an enemy as the Spaniards to deal with, they went out in swarms, to cruise upon their shipping. Among these adventurers the Earl of Cumberland distinguished himself: for, having fitted out a stout squadron, he sailed to the Azore islands, where he did the Spaniards very material mischief, and procured to himself, and those concerned with him, considerable advantages. The island of Fayal he reduced, and from the city and castle there he brought off fifty-eight pieces of cannon. He likewise forced the island of Graciosa to a composition, and took several rich ships, the cargo of one of which was valued at upwards of one hundred thousand pounds; but, in his return to England, this valuable prize was cast away in Mount's Bay, on the coast of Cornwall.

In the year 1591, Lord Thomas Howard, second son to the Duke of Norfolk, was sent out with a squadron

dron to intercept the Spanish Plate-fleet in its return from America; who repaired for that purpose to the Azores: he had with him seven of the queen's ships, and as many fitted out by private adventurers. Whilst he continued on this station, a very powerful fleet, which Philip had assembled, in hopes of thereby effecting a descent on England, arrived in search of him; the King of Spain being diverted from his purpose, by the necessity of rescuing his treasure from the hands of the English. The Spanish fleet, according to Burchet, consisted of fifty-three ships, and was commanded by Don Alphonso Bassano, an expert seaman. This attack was so sudden and unlooked for, that Lord Howard very narrowly escaped falling into their hands. His vice-admiral, Sir Richard Grenville, in the *Revenge*, waiting to take on-board some of his men, who were straggling about the country, was surrounded by the enemy: in this situation he fought gallantly for fifteen hours, till being himself desperately wounded, and his ship much disabled, he ordered her to be sunk; but the officers, choosing rather to confide in the generosity of the enemy, yielded her up on the promise of their lives and liberties; and Sir Richard was carried on-board the Spanish admiral, where he died two days after. The *Revenge* was so shattered that she soon after sunk, with two hundred Spaniards on-board. The *Ascension*, a Spanish man of war, and a double fly-boat full of men, were sunk in the engagement. The day after this action the Plate-fleet arrived: so much do the events of war depend on contingencies, which no human foresight or valour can influence: had it arrived a few days sooner, the English would have possessed themselves of an immense treasure. Before the Spanish fleet returned to port, they were overtaken by a violent storm, in which near a hundred vessels perished, together with the wealth with which they were freighted. In this instance, as in every other, the superior skill and dexterity of the

the English, in nautical affairs, is apparent; for Sir Thomas Howard's squadron weathered the storm, sustained scarcely any damage, and made prize of several Spanish ships.

Much about the same time ten English merchant-ships returning home from the Levant, in passing the Straits of Gibraltar, fell in with twelve Spanish galleys, each manned with three hundred mariners; after fighting them six hours, they obliged them to make off, having sustained great loss, whilst scarcely any was sustained on the part of the English.

The first voyage from England to the East Indies was now undertaken, with three ships; but only the captain of one of the vessels, with a few of his men, returned to England, having continued a considerable time on an uninhabited island: two of the ships were lost, and the third, being piratically seized by some of the crew, was never heard of afterwards.

In the year 1594, the queen sent a small squadron to sea, under the command of Sir Martin Frobisher, to reduce the port of Brest in Bretagne, which the King of Spain had taken, by the assistance of the Roman catholics of France, who had entered into a confederacy against Henry IV. and were styled the Leaguers. It was of great importance to wrest from the crown of Spain this port, as it would have enabled them greatly to annoy the commerce of England; but the place was strong by its situation, and had been rendered more so by the fortifications which had been erected; it was also defended by a strong garrison of foreign troops. Sir John Norris, with a small English army, formed the siege by land; whilst Sir Martin Frobisher, with only four men of war, forced an entrance into the harbour, by which he effectually blocked up the place by sea. He then landed his sailors; and, in conjunction with Sir John Norris, stormed the works: the Spaniards defended the place with great bravery; but the impetuous valour of the English prevailed, after a
very

very obstinate and bloody conflict: in this action the naval commander received a gun-shot wound in his side, with which he languished for some time, but soon after his return to England he died.

The next year Sir Amias Preston, with three ships, took and burnt Porto Santo, at the Madeiras; thence proceeding to the East Indies, he took and destroyed some of the Spanish settlements. About the same time Sir John Hawkins and Sir Francis Drake, with a very considerable force, arrived in the West Indies. Of all the enterprizes throughout the war, none so much excited the expectations of the public as this, and none terminated less successfully. Three months after the fleet had sailed from Plymouth, Sir John Hawkins died at sea. Drake then made a furious attack on the shipping in the harbour of Porto Rico; but he met with a more gallant resistance, and stronger fortifications, than he expected; the losses they had incurred by security having taught the Spaniards the useful lesson of watchfulness. Being, at length, obliged to desist, the English admiral attempted to cross the isthmus of Darien to Panama, on the South Seas; but the Spaniards every where availed themselves so much of the advantages which the nature of the country gave them, that he was obliged to return to his ships, without accomplishing his design. Such checks, given him by a power that he had so often vanquished, sat very ill on the haughty spirit of Drake; and, in his passage home, that great commander died.

In some measure to retrieve the misadventure of this enterprize, Jamaica was attacked by Sir Anthony Shirley, who took St. Jago de la Vega, its chief town, and gave it up to plunder: at the same time an important expedition was undertaken against the city of Cadiz. The Spaniards had made a descent in Cornwall, where they burnt some small towns, and did other mischief: indeed their force was not considerable, being embarked in four gallees: this squadron

was commanded by Don Diego Brochero. The spirit of the nation being roused by this insult, it was resolved to retaliate the blow with double violence; for which purpose a large fleet was gotten together, consisting of one hundred and twenty-six ships of war; on-board of which were embarked more than seven thousand land-forces. This armament was commanded by the Earl of Essex and the Lord High Admiral Effingham; and it was strengthened by a Dutch squadron of twenty-four ships. The design of this expedition was to destroy the Spanish fleet in the port of Cadiz, and to make themselves masters of that rich city; and this they fully accomplished. All the shipping in the harbour was burnt except two galleons, which were brought to England, and one hundred brass cannon; the forts were levelled with the ground; eleven of the King of Spain's best ships, forty-four merchant-ships, and an immense quantity of naval stores, as well as provisions of all kinds, were destroyed; and the town itself was saved from plunder at the price of five hundred and twenty thousand ducats. This glorious expedition greatly advanced the reputation of the queen, her ministers, commanders, naval and land forces. The admiral, on his return home, was created Earl of Nottingham; and in the preamble of the patent it was expressed, that the new dignity was conferred on him on account of his good services in taking Cadiz and destroying the Spanish ships.

It will be proper to mention here a private expedition undertaken by Sir Richard Hawkins, son of Sir John Hawkins. In the year 1593 he fitted out two large ships, and a pinnace, at his own expence; and had the queen's commission, authorizing him to attack the Spaniards in South America. He lost his pinnace in the river of Plate, and, being deserted by the ship which had till then accompanied him, he pushed on his voyage towards the southern extremity of America. He is supposed to have been the first European who
discovered

discovered the Falkland Isles, called likewise the Malouines, which lie near the eastern entrance of the Straits of Magellan; to which he gave the name of Maiden Islands, in honour of his royal mistress; and for the possession of which the nation, in 1771, was well nigh involved in a war with Spain. Hawkins made several prizes on the coast of Peru; but was, at length, attacked by Don Bertrand de Castro, who had with him a squadron of eight ships, with two thousand men on board: he found means, however, to disengage himself from this unequal force; and, not intimidated by the superiority of the enemy, he continued cruising in those parts, allured by the hope of farther plunder. He was soon after, a second time, attacked by the Spanish admiral, against whom he made a desperate stand, for three days and three nights; at length the greatest part of his men being killed, his ship scarcely navigable, and himself desperately wounded, he surrendered, on condition that himself, and his crew, should be sent to England by the first conveyance. Whilst he remained a prisoner, de Castro shewed him a letter from the Spanish ministry to the viceroy of Peru, which gave an exact account of Hawkins's expedition; the number of his ships, their burden, men, guns, ammunition, &c. which proves the close correspondence maintained by the court of Spain with some who were employed under Queen Elizabeth. Sir Richard Hawkins continued some time in America, and was treated with great humanity by the admiral. At length he was ordered to Spain instead of England, and remained, for several years, a prisoner in Seville; but at last, obtaining his enlargement, he returned to England, but not before the death of his father, Sir John Hawkins. As he lived many years after this, and went no more to sea, he employed this season of tranquillity in writing a large account of his adventures, to the time of his being taken by the Spaniards, which was afterwards published. A writer, speaking

of Sir John and Sir Richard Hawkins, says, "If fortune had been as propitious to them both, as they were eminent for virtue, valour, and knowledge, they might have vied with the heroes of any age." It must be acknowledged, however, that Sir Richard Hawkins owed his misfortunes to his own rashness; for had he quitted those parts, and returned home, immediately after the first engagement which he had with the Spaniards he would, most probably, have escaped that reverse of fortune which afterwards befel him. Indiscreet bravery neither benefits the man who possesses it, nor the cause in which it is exerted.

Sir Walter Raleigh had sent out a ship, for the purpose of making discoveries in the country of Guiana; and, about this time, went himself in search of the immense treasures which he pictured to himself were deposited in that country. He sailed up the river Oronoko with a select band, in boats, four hundred miles from the sea, and, in his progress endured great hardships, without lighting on the expected recompense; after a month's fruitless search, he was obliged to return to his ships, and proceed with them to England. By this miscarriage the golden dreams which had been formed, vanished into air, to the great disappointment of the adventurers, but to the infinite benefit of the nation; for a spirit of industry had then diffused itself, very generally, through all ranks of people, and, under the auspices of a sovereign generally inclined to second the efforts of her subjects, the nation began to see its true interest, and to avail itself of its natural advantages; but if, in an evil hour, the bowels of the earth had yielded the precious metals in great abundance, supineness would have taken place of industry, and the nation would have languished under a plethory.

Queen Elizabeth, who was ever parsimonious, having conceived some disgust at the United States, was inclined to reduce her disbursements to them: she even
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went so far as to direct Sir Thomas Bodley, her ambassador there, to require the payment of all the money which she had expended in supporting them. The States-general replied to this demand, by pleading the conditions of the treaty subsisting between them and the queen, by which they were not bound to repay her till the conclusion of a peace: to strengthen this plea, they represented their poverty and distress, the great superiority of the Spaniards, and the embarrassments under which they laboured in carrying on the war, which entirely disabled them from raising money to discharge arrears. After much negociation a new treaty was formed, by which the States agreed to free the queen immediately from the charge of the English auxiliaries, computed at forty thousand pounds a year; to pay her annually twenty thousand pounds for some years; to assist her with a certain number of ships; and to conclude no peace, or treaty, without her consent. They also bound themselves, when a peace with Spain took place, to pay her one hundred thousand pounds annually, for four years; which, when performed, was agreed to be in lieu of all demands. It was farther stipulated, that the States should be supplied with a body of four thousand auxiliaries from England, which they were to pay.

Almost every season since the destruction of the Spanish armada, the English had undertaken some naval enterprize against the Spaniards; attacking them either in Europe or America. Philip, whose whole reign was a state of warfare, was so deeply engaged in other quarrels, that he was little able to take revenge for these insults. At length it was his fortune to become master of Calais, after a siege of three weeks: the possession of such a sea-port, so commodiously situated for annoying the English, hastened his operations. Determined to improve the advantage which this circumstance presented, he began to prepare a naval and military force, with which he meditated a

descent in Ireland, where he had long fomented the rebellious spirit of the catholic inhabitants. The queen soon received intelligence that the Spaniards, though their fleets were so much shattered and destroyed by the expedition against Cadiz, were making vast preparations at Ferrol and the Groyne, resolved to prevent their enterprize, and to destroy the shipping in these harbours. She prepared a large fleet of one hundred and twenty sail, of which seventeen were her own ships; forty-three were smaller vessels, and the rest tenders and victuallers: she embarked on-board this fleet five thousand new-levied soldiers, and added a thousand veteran troops under Sir Francis Vere. The Earl of Essex, commander in chief both of the land and sea forces, was at the head of one squadron; Lord Thomas Howard was appointed vice-admiral of another; and Sir Walter Raleigh of the third. This powerful fleet set sail from Plymouth, 9th of July, 1597; but were no sooner out of the harbour, than they met with a furious storm, which shattered and dispersed them; and, before they could be refitted, Essex found that their provisions were so far spent, that it would not be safe to carry so numerous an army along with him. He dismissed, therefore, all the soldiers except the one thousand veterans under Vere; and, laying aside all thoughts of attacking Ferrol or the Groyne, he confined the object of his expedition to the intercepting the fleet of galleons which were on their passage from Mexico. This annual fleet, navigation being then imperfectly understood, had a stated course as well as season, both in their going out and in their return; and there were certain islands, at which, as at fixed stages, they always touched, and where they took in water and provisions. The fleet was expected, about this time, at the islands of the Azores; thither, therefore, Essex bent his course, intending likewise to attack Fayal, one of those islands, which determination he had imparted to Sir Walter Raleigh.

Raleigh. Soon after, the squadrons were separated, and Raleigh, arriving first before Fayal, thought it more prudent, after waiting some time for the general, to begin the attack alone, lest the inhabitants should, by farther delay, have leisure to make preparations for their defence. He succeeded in the enterprise; but Essex, jealous of Raleigh, expressed great displeasure at his conduct, and construed it as an intention of depriving him of the glory of the action. He cashiered, therefore, Sydney, Bret, Berry, and others, who had concurred in the attempt; and would have proceeded to inflict the same punishment on Raleigh himself, but for the intervention of Lord Thomas Howard, who prevailed upon Raleigh, although high-spirited, to make submissions to the general. Essex, who, notwithstanding he was hasty and passionate, yet was very placable, both received Raleigh into favour, and restored the other officers to their commands. This incident, however, though the quarrel was seemingly accommodated, laid the first foundation of that violent animosity, which afterwards took place between these two gallant commanders.

This matter adjusted, Essex made the proper dispositions for intercepting the Mexican fleet; and Sir William Monson, whose station was the farthest off shore, having fallen in with them, made the signals which had been appointed. That able officer ascribes the failure of Essex, when he was so near attaining the mighty prize, to his want of experience in seamanship. The Spanish fleet, finding that the enemy was upon them, made all the sail possible to the Azores, and got into the harbour of Angra, in Tercira, which was well defended by many forts, before the English fleet could overtake them. Only three of the ships fell into the hands of the English, which were, however, so richly laden, as to repay all the charges of the expedition. The general then made a descent on the island of St. Michael, another of the Azores, and plundered

the town of Villa Franca, and then steered towards home. In the mean time the Spaniards were meditating great designs. The absence of the English fleet gave them an opportunity of fitting out their squadrons from Corunna and Ferrol. With these they purposed to have made a descent in Cornwall, and to have possessed themselves of the port of Falmouth, where, leaving a strong garrison, their next attempt was meant to be the intercepting the English fleet in their return, which, after so long and rough a voyage, were little able to make head against a large fleet of ships, just out of port. The fate of England seemed now again to be suspended, as the destruction of its fleet would have reduced it to a very feeble condition. The Spanish admiral joined his squadrons, and proceeded with them to the island of Scilly, almost within sight of the English shore. Here he called a council of war, in order to give his officers necessary instructions, as to the intended descent; but, while all the captains of the fleet were on-board the admiral's ship, a violent storm arose, which, for a considerable time, prevented their return to their ships, and in the issue entirely dispersed the whole fleet. Eighteen capital ships perished in this storm, whilst several were forced into English ports, and there taken. The mischiefs which the Spanish navy repeatedly suffered from tempests, were chiefly owing to the unwieldiness of their ships, and the unskillfulness of their sailors; for the fleet under Essex, though exposed to all the fury of the same tempest, which buffeted them severely, yet rode it out without suffering the loss of a single ship.

In the year 1598, the Earl of Cumberland fitted out a squadron of eleven sail, at his own expence, with which he sailed to the coast of Portugal, with a view to intercept the East-India carracks bound out from Lisbon; but the Spaniards, being informed of the danger which awaited them, unloaded their ships, and deferred their voyage to the next season. The earl,
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finding himself disappointed of his expected prey, sailed for the Canaries, where he made a descent on the island of Lancerota, which he plundered, and then proceeded for America, and attacked Porto Rico, which place, four years before, had foiled Sir Francis Drake. The earl, coming upon the place by surprize, became master of it with small loss. As he designed to make this city and harbour his station, from whence to cruise upon the Spanish coast, he drove out all the inhabitants. He had not long employed himself in strengthening the fortifications, before he found the place not tenable, on account of the malignity of the climate to his soldiers and seamen ; he was, therefore, obliged to abandon his conquest, and return to England, with more glory than wealth, bringing with him about sixty pieces of brass cannon.

The same year died the great Cecil, lord Burleigh, in an advanced age, and equally regretted by his sovereign and the people ; a peculiar circumstance for one who had been prime minister near forty years. He had risen gradually from small beginnings, by the mere force of merit. None of Elizabeth's other inclinations or affections could ever overcome her confidence in so useful a counsellor ; and as he had the generosity, or good sense, to pay assiduous court to her, during the reign of Mary, when it was dangerous to appear her friend, Elizabeth thought herself bound in gratitude, when she mounted the throne, to persevere in her attachments to him. He seems not to have possessed any shining talents of address, eloquence, or imagination ; and was chiefly distinguished by solidity of understanding, probity of manners, and indefatigable application in business. Of all the queen's ministers, he alone left a considerable fortune to his posterity ; a fortune, not acquired by rapine or oppression, but gained by the regular profits of his offices, and preserved by frugality. Walsingham, his colleague, who died eight years before him, was so poor, that

that his family was obliged to inter him privately. This latter minister spent his whole time, and estate, in the service of his queen and country. He was remarkable for obtaining the best information of the secret designs of all foreign powers, whereby the plots and cabals against the peace of the nation were effectually counteracted.

Philip II. that sworn foe to the repose of Europe, did not long survive Lord Burleigh. He had languished, for some time, under a complication of disorders; and, at length, expired, in the seventy-second year of his age, and forty-third of his reign. When the dominions of the house of Austria devolved on this prince, all Europe was struck with terror; lest the power of a family which had been raised by fortune, should now be carried to an immeasurable height, by the wisdom and conduct of this monarch. But never were apprehensions found, in the event, to be more groundless. Slow, without prudence; ambitious, without enterprize; false, without deceiving any body; and refined, without any true judgment. Such was the character of Philip, and such the character, which, during his life-time, and after his death, he impressed on the Spanish councils. Revolted or depopulated provinces, discontented or indolent inhabitants, were the spectacles which those dominions, lying in every climate of the globe, presented to his successor. He cannot, however, be supposed insincere in the zeal which he expressed for religion: but, as his religion was of the most corrupt kind, it served to increase the natural depravity of his disposition; and not only allowed, but even prompted, him to commit the most odious and shocking crimes. Although a prince, in the bigotted age of Philip, might be persuaded that the interest of religion would be advanced by falsehood and persecution; yet it might be expected, that in a virtuous prince, the sentiments of honour and humanity would, on some occasions, triumph over the

the dictates of superstition: but of such a triumph there occurs not a single instance in the reign of Philip; who, without hesitation, violated his most sacred obligations as often as religion afforded him a pretence; and, under that pretence, exercised, for many years, the most unrelenting cruelty, without reluctance or remorse.

Ever since the death of the Earl of Leicester, the Earl of Essex had been admitted to the chief place in the queen's favour. This young nobleman, to great exterior accomplishments added some talents, and some virtues. In the field, and at court, he ever appeared with superior lustre. It was pleasant to see a maiden queen, past her grand climacteric, gratified by the gallant assiduties of a courtier under thirty. The temper of Essex was open, frank, and impetuous; he likewise possessed a turn for ridicule, which, in the ebullitions of youthful vivacity, he could not always restrain, and which were sometimes exercised on the sacred foibles of his sovereign. Had he been endowed with caution and self-command, equal to his shining qualities, he would have so rivetted himself in the queen's confidence, that none of his enemies would ever have been able to impeach his credit: but his lofty spirit could ill submit to that implicit deference, which the queen's temper required, and which she had ever been accustomed to receive from all her subjects. This lord, being once engaged in a dispute with her about the choice of a governor for Ireland, was so heated in the argument, that he entirely forgot the rules both of duty and civility, and turned his back upon her in a contemptuous manner. Her anger, naturally prompt and violent, rose at this provocation, and she instantly gave him a box on the ear; adding a passionate expression, suited to his impertinence. Instead of recollecting himself, and making the submissions due to her sex and station, he clapped his hand to his sword, and swore he would not bear such usage were it from

Henry VIII. himself; and immediately withdrew from court. The queen's partiality was, nevertheless, so prevalent, that she presently reinstated him in her favour, and her kindness to him appeared rather to have acquired fresh force from this short interval of anger and resentment. Soon after, a rebellion in Ireland, which had risen to an alarming height, required the nominating a man of consequence, and military skill and talents, to suppress it. The queen, who entertained an opinion of the qualifications of Essex for such a department, (much better founded than that which she had formerly had for Leicester,) appointed him governor of Ireland, by the title of lord-lieutenant, and vested him with very ample powers. The expectations formed of Essex were by no means answered by his conduct; and there was reason to suspect that he was secretly gaining the rebels to his interest, and had formed designs of employing the troops which he commanded, to the annoyance of the queen, his sovereign. Essex, finding his interest at court suffer by his absence, suddenly quitted Ireland, and appeared in the queen's presence; for which unauthorized conduct, as well as for his mal-administration, he was ordered into confinement, and to be examined by the council; by whose sentence he was stripped of his dignity of privy-counsellor, earl marshal of England, and master of the ordnance, and sentenced to remain a prisoner during the queen's pleasure. Before his cause was brought to a hearing in the council, Essex had written a very supplicating letter to the queen, in which he told her, that he kissed her majesty's hand, and the rod with which she had corrected him; but that he could never recover his wonted cheerfulness till she deigned to admit him to that presence which had ever been the chief source of his happiness and enjoyment. That he had now resolved to make amends for his past errors, to retire into a country solitude, and say with Nebuchadnezzar, " Let my dwelling be with
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the beasts of the field: let me eat grafs as an ox, and be wet with the dew of heaven, till it shall please the queen to restore me to my understanding." The queen was much pleased with these sentiments, and replied, that, after some time, when convinced of his humility, something might be expected from her lenity. The Earl of Essex possessed a monopoly of sweet wines; and, as his patent was near expiring, he patiently expected that the queen would renew it. But Elizabeth, though gracious in her deportment, was of a temper haughty and severe; and, being continually surrounded with the earl's enemies, means were found to persuade her, that his lofty spirit was not yet sufficiently subdued, and that he must undergo this farther trial, before he could be safely re-admitted into favour. She, therefore, denied his request; and even added, in a contemptuous style, that an ungovernable beast must be stinted in his provender. This rigour, pushed one step too far, proved the final ruin of this young nobleman, and shortened the days of the queen herself.

The alarming state of affairs in the year 1599; the Spaniards seeming to meditate a descent on the coast; the commotion in Ireland having risen to a formidable height; and the conduct of Essex being very mysterious and unsatisfactory; the queen issued orders to the city of London to furnish sixteen ships, for the reinforcement of her navy, and six thousand men for the service by land. The like directions being sent to other parts of the kingdom, such a fleet, and such an army, were drawn together in a fortnight's space, as took away all appearance of success from foreign or domestic enemies. The command, both of the fleet and army, was entrusted to the Earl of Nottingham, who, on this occasion, was invested with the high title of lord-lieutenant-general of all England; an office intended by the queen for the Earl of Leicester in 1588, but unknown in succeeding times. The earl

held his post with almost regal authority for the space of six weeks, being sometimes with his fleet in the Downs, and sometimes on-shore with the forces.

Effex, who had, with great difficulty, so long subdued his proud spirit, began, at length, to conclude that the queen was inexorable; and, his temper being remarkably impatient and ungovernable, this apprehension led him to burst, at once, all restraints of submission and prudence; and he determined to seek relief, by proceeding to the utmost extremities against his enemies. The national apprehensions having now subsided, and the new levies being disbanded, the earl attempted to raise a force sufficient to compel the queen to do what he thought expedient; and, failing in this, he retired, with some adherents, to Effex-house, in the Strand, where he fortified himself, and confined the chancellor, the chief justice of England, and other privy-counsellors, who were sent by the queen to enquire into the grievances he complained of. The queen now saw herself, when in the decline of life, and after having gloriously triumphed over foreign foes, in the utmost peril from an assuming favourite, who owed all his credit to her kindness, and who was attempting to kindle a rebellion in her capital. These commotions, nevertheless, were not capable of shaking her magnanimity; she appeared with as much tranquillity and security, as if there had only passed a fray in the streets, in which she was nowise concerned. The lord admiral was sent against Effex, whom he reduced to such distress, that he was, at length, obliged to surrender himself a prisoner. He was, soon after, brought to a trial before twenty-five peers: on which occasion Lord Buckhurst was created lord high steward: by this court he was found guilty. Elizabeth, who affected extremely the praise of clemency, had always appeared full of reluctance and hesitation, in every great example which she had made during her reign: but the present situation of Effex called forth all her tender affections,
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and kept her in an actual agitation and irresolution. She felt a perpetual combat between resentment and inclination, pride and compassion: the care of her own safety, and concern for her favourite; and her situation, during this interval, was, perhaps, more an object of pity, than that to which Essex himself was reduced. She signed the warrant for his execution; she countermanded it: she again resolved on his death; she felt a new return of tenderness. The enemies of Essex told her, that he himself desired to die; and had assured her, that she could never be in safety while he lived. But what chiefly hardened her heart against him was, his supposed obstinacy, in never making, as she hourly expected, an application to her for mercy. At length her resentment prevailed, and she gave a decisive order for his execution. He discovered, at his death, symptoms rather of penitence than of fear, and readily acknowledged the justness of the sentence by which he suffered. The execution was private in the Tower, agreeable to his own request: he was apprehensive, he said, lest the favour and compassion of the people would too much raise his heart in those moments, when humiliation, under the afflicting hand of heaven, was the only proper sentiment which he could indulge; and the queen, no doubt, thought it prudent to remove so melancholy a spectacle from the public eye. Thus died the famous Earl of Essex, in the thirty-fifth year of his age, on the 25th of February, 1601. Two years after the death of this imperious favourite, a transaction was brought to light, which drew a dark cloud over the evening of that day, which had shone out with a mighty lustre in the eyes of all Europe.

The Earl of Essex, after his return from the fortunate expedition against Cadiz, observing the increase of the queen's fond attachment towards him, took occasion to regret, that the necessity of her service required him often to be absent from her person, and exposed him to all those ill offices, which his enemies, more assiduous

fiduous in their attendance, could employ against him. She was moved with this tender jealousy; and, making him the present of a ring, desired him to keep that pledge of her affection, and assured him, that into whatever disgrace he should fall, whatever prejudices she might be induced to entertain against him, yet, if he sent her that ring, she would immediately, upon the sight of it, recal her former tenderness, would afford him a patient hearing, and would lend a favourable ear to his apology. Essex, notwithstanding all his misfortunes, reserved this precious gift to the last extremity; but, after his trial and condemnation, he resolved to try the experiment, and he committed the ring to the Countess of Nottingham, who he desired to deliver it to the queen. The countess was prevailed on by her husband, the mortal enemy of Essex, not to execute the commission; and Elizabeth, who still expected that her favourite would make this last appeal to her tenderness, and who ascribed the neglect of it to his invincible obstinacy, was, after much delay, and many internal combats, pushed by resentment and policy to sign the warrant for his execution. The Countess of Nottingham falling into sickness, and affected with the near approach of death, was seized with remorse for her conduct; and, having obtained a visit from the queen, she craved her pardon, and revealed to her the fatal secret. The queen, astonished with this incident, burst into a furious passion: she shook the dying countess in her bed; and crying to her, That God might pardon her, but she never could, she broke from her, and thenceforth resigned herself over to the deepest and most incurable melancholy. She rejected all consolation: she even refused food and sustenance: and, throwing herself on the floor, she remained fullen and immoveable, feeding her thoughts on her afflictions, and declaring life and existence an insufferable burthen to her. Few words she uttered; and they were all expressive of some inward grief, which she
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cared not to reveal : but sighs and groans were the chief vent which she gave to her despondency, and which, though they discovered her sorrows, were never able to ease or assuage them. Ten days and nights she lay upon the carpet, leaning on her cushions which her maids brought her ; and her physicians could not persuade her to allow herself to be put to bed, much less to make trial of any remedies which they prescribed to her. Her anxious mind, at last, had so long preyed on her frail body, that her end was visibly approaching ; and the council being assembled, sent the keeper, admiral, and secretary, to know her will with regard to her successor. She answered with a faint voice, that, as she had held a regal sceptre, she desired no other than a royal successor. Cecil requesting her to explain herself more particularly, she subjoined, that she would have a king to succeed her ; and who should that be but her nearest kinsman, the King of Scots. She died March 24, 1603.

There are few great personages in history who have been more exposed to the calumny of enemies, and the adulation of friends, than Queen Elizabeth ; and yet there is scarce any whose reputation has been more certainly determined, by the unanimous consent of posterity. The unusual length of her administration, and the strong features of her character, were able to overcome all prejudices ; and obliging her detractors to abate much of their invectives, and her admirers somewhat their panegyrics, have, at last, in spite of political factions, and, what is more, of religious animosities, produced an uniform judgment with regard to her conduct. Her vigour, her constancy, her magnanimity, her penetration, and vigilance, are allowed to merit the highest praise, and appear not to have been surpassed by any person who ever filled a throne. A conduct less vigorous, less imperious ; more sincere, more indulgent to her people ; would have been requisite to have formed a perfect character. By the force
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of her mind, she controuled all her more active and stronger qualities, and prevented them from running into excess. Her heroism was exempt from all temerity, her frugality from avarice, her friendship from partiality, her active spirit from turbulency and a vain ambition. She guarded not herself with equal care, or with equal success, from smaller infirmities; the rivalry of beauty, the desire of admiration, the jealousy of love, and the sallies of anger.

Her singular talents for government were founded equally on her temper and on her capacity. Endowed with a great command of herself, she obtained an uncontrouled ascendant over her people; and, while she merited all their esteem by her real virtues, she also engaged their affections by her pretended ones. Few sovereigns of England succeeded to the throne in more difficult circumstances; and none ever conducted the government with such uniform success and felicity. Though unacquainted with the practice of toleration, the true secret for managing religious factions, she preserved her people, by her superior prudence, from those confusions in which theological controversy had involved all the neighbouring nations: and though her enemies were the most powerful princes in Europe, the most active, the most enterprising, the least scrupulous, she was able by her vigour to make deep impressions on their state; her own greatness meanwhile remaining untouched and unimpaired.

The wise ministers and brave warriors, who flourished during her reign, share the praise of her success; but, instead of lessening the applause due to her, they make great addition to it. They owed all of them their advancement to her choice, they were supported by her constancy; and with all their ability they were never able to acquire any undue ascendant over her. In her family, in her court, in her kingdom, she remained equally mistress. The force of the tender passions was great over her, but the force of her mind

was still superior; and the combat which her victory visibly cost her, serves only to display the firmness of her resolution, and the loftiness of her ambitious sentiments.

The fame of this princess, though it has surmounted the prejudices both of faction and bigotry, yet lies still exposed to another prejudice which is more durable, because more natural, and which, according to the different views in which we survey her, is capable either of exalting beyond measure, or diminishing, the lustre of her character. This prejudice is founded in the consideration of her sex. When we contemplate her as a woman, we are apt to be struck with the highest admiration of her great qualities and extensive capacity: but, we are apt also to require some more softness of disposition, some great lenity of temper, some of those amiable weaknesses by which her sex is distinguished. But the true method of estimating her merit is, to lay aside all those considerations, and consider her merely as a rational being, placed in authority, and entrusted with the government of mankind. We may find it difficult to reconcile our fancy to her as a wife, or a mistress; but her qualities as a sovereign, though with some considerable exceptions, are the object of undisputed applause and approbation.

At the close of this long and glorious reign, we have many naval and commercial occurrences to notice, which would not have been so well introduced before without breaking the thread of the history. The commerce, from the ports of the province of Holland, before its revolt from Spain, was very considerable. Guiccardin relates, that the Hollanders brought annually from Denmark, Eastland, Livonia, and Poland, sixty thousand lasts of grain, chiefly rye; that the single province of Holland alone had eight hundred ships, from two hundred to seven hundred tons burden, beside above six hundred busses for fishing. So that, for the greatness of its commerce, Amsterdam

was even then next to Antwerp, of all the towns in the Netherlands. The same author speaks very fully to the vast commerce carried on between England and the Netherlands at this time; and adds, that the merchants of both states had fallen into a way of insuring their merchandize from losses at sea, by a joint contribution; which is probably the first instance to be met with of insurance of ships, and their cargoes, from the dangers of the sea.

The attention paid to the manufactures of England, and the impediments thrown in the way of such branches of trade as interfered with the wholesome plan of policy then adopted, occasioned a great alarm throughout the Netherlands. The Flemings had long profited by the negligence and false politics which had blinded the eyes of the English to their natural advantages. Out of resentment of the restrictions thrown on the trade to the Netherlands, Philip II. of Spain, prohibited all his subjects from trading with the English at Embden, thinking thereby to compel Queen Elizabeth to renounce the measures which she had adopted; but the firmness with which she adhered to her purposes baffled all opposition; and the interest of the Netherlands called so loudly for a re-establishment of a good understanding with England, that the haughty Spaniard found it necessary to revoke all his prohibitions, and invite the English to a renewal of their commerce with his subjects.

A mine of pure copper was, in this reign, discovered in the county of Cumberland. At the same time was found great plenty of the stone called lapis calaminaris, so necessary for turning copper into brass. Grain was, at this time, permitted to be exported, which served greatly to whet the industry of the yeomanry: grounds were therefore broke up, which before had lain uncultivated. But this permission was soon after revoked.

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The first voyage made from England to the coast of Guinea, for the purchase of slaves, of which any traces now remain, was undertaken in the year 1562, by Mr. John Hawkins, with three ships. He procured three hundred negroes, which he carried to Hispaniola, and there exchanging them for the productions of the island, returned to England the next year; having made a very advantageous voyage. In October 1564, he sailed from Plymouth, in a ship of seven hundred tons, accompanied by three other vessels, on another voyage to the Guinea coast, and thence to the Spanish West Indies, where he traded to great advantage; and, after visiting the port of Havannah, returned to England, through the gulph of Florida, in September 1565, bringing with him a large cargo of rich commodities. Sir William Monson informs us, that one of the ships which went this voyage with (afterwards) Sir John Hawkins, was called the *Jesus*, and was built at Lubec; that it was the last foreign-built ship purchased by the queen, and was cast away in the port of St. John Ulloa, in New Spain, in the next voyage in 1567.

In the year 1567 Sir Thomas Gresham, an eminent merchant of London, who, in the style of those times, was called the queen's merchant, (because he had the management of all her remittances, her money concerns with foreign states, and the payment of her armies beyond sea,) erected a building in London, for the daily public resort of merchants, for transacting their public concerns with each other. The queen would not have this place called, as in other countries, the Bourse, but gave it the name of the Royal Exchange. Upon its being finished, the queen came in person, and proclaimed its name with the herald at arms. It was burnt down in the great conflagration, anno 1666, and soon rebuilt with much greater splendor, as it now appears. Before the erecting this building there was a place in Lombard-street, for the meet-

ing of merchants; but the rapid increase of commerce had rendered it much too small for the purpose.

The law against usury, or the taking interest for money, which had passed in the reign of King Edward VI. was repealed, the legislature becoming now more enlightened. The mines of America had poured into Europe immense quantities of bullion; shipping, commerce, and manufactures, were making rapid advances; and the East Indies were not, as yet, the vortex to swallow up the silver of Europe. The quantity of specie must, of course, be greatly increased, and be more than sufficient for the purposes of commerce, or for the purchase of lands. Besides, money began now to be considered as an improveable possession, as much as any species of merchandize, and the reasonableness of improving it was acknowledged: an act was therefore passed, reviving that of Henry VIII. for establishing the rate of interest at ten pounds per cent. per annum.

In the year 1577 Drake sailed on his voyage round the world. He entered the South Sea by the Straits of Magelhaen, with five ships and one hundred and sixty-four men; attacked and pillaged the Spanish settlement of St. Jago, on the coast of Chili, in South America; and so secure were the Spaniards in this remote part of the world, that every thing fell an easy prey to his arms. He, at length, took a ship immensely rich, called the *Cacofogo*. But soon after found himself reduced to only a single ship, in which, however, all his treasure was preserved. To escape the Spaniards on his return home, he determined to proceed to the Moluccas, or Spice Islands, and to return to Europe by the Cape of Good Hope, the route of the Portuguese ships. He was obliged to sail as far north on the South Sea, as the forty-eighth degree, to fall in with the trade winds: whilst pursuing this track, he arrived off the coast of California, the country beyond which he named New Albion, setting up a pillar,
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and a plate, on which was inscribed Queen Elizabeth's name, titles, &c. After enduring many hardships, and escaping many dangers, he arrived in England in November 1580.

Drake was the first commander who circumnavigated the world in one continued voyage. Magelhaen we have seen fifty-eight years before, first sailed across the South Sea; thereby demonstrably proving the orbicular form of the terraqueous globe. He can, however, be considered as the first man who went round the world, only from having, a few years before he set out on his last expedition, proceeded from the Molucca Islands to Portugal, the space which remained to be traversed by him at his death, in order to complete his circuit.

The persevering spirit of the English was not to be shaken by the former unsuccessful attempts which had been made to find a passage to China and the east, without interfering with the Portuguese, by passing the Cape of Good Hope south-eastward; nor with Spain by going south-westward, by the Straits of Magelhaen. As the English had already ineffectually attempted a passage by the north-east, there seemed only the north-west passage to be explored, an attempt at which had been already made by Frobisher. To stimulate the English to this undertaking, many treatises were published, founded on a very vague and romantic theory; but no one attempted, at that time, to expose its fallacy, and the national animosity then prevailing against Spain, strongly inclined England to undertake, with eagerness, any scheme that proposed to lessen the consequence of that kingdom. Urged on by the prevailing humour of the times, Captain Frobisher undertook a second voyage in 1577, to determine this problem. He had one of the queen's own ships, and two barks, on-board of which were one hundred and forty persons; but the undertaking proved as fruitless as the former one. He returned

home the same year, freighted with glittering stones and sand, which he had procured on the northern extremity of America, expecting it to yield a prodigious profit; but, to the great disappointment of the adventurers, they were found to possess no intrinsic value. However, the inefficacy of this voyage did not induce the queen to abandon her favourite acquisition. Frobisher, the next year, was sent out a third time, and returned without making any other discoveries than such as served to amuse the idle and satisfy the ignorant.

The first public treaty made by Queen Elizabeth with the states-general of the newly-united provinces, on their revolt from Spain, was dated at Brussels, January 7, 1578, and is preserved in Rymer's *Fœdera*. The next year, at a general meeting of the states at Utrecht, a solemn compact was entered into to defend each other, as one body; and, with united consent, to advise of peace, war, taxes, &c. and also to support liberty of conscience. From this union the most potent republic arose, in a few years, which the world had ever beheld, since the existence of ancient Rome; and, considered in a commercial and maritime light, the greatest that ever was on earth. In thirty years from its first establishment, it gained a footing in Flanders, by mastering the strong and important town and port of Sluyce, with Hulst, &c. It also totally destroyed the trade of the flourishing city of Antwerp: possessed itself of the strong forts of Bergen-op-Zoom, Breda, and other strong holds on the Maese and Rhine, &c. Not exhausted by these vast enterprises, the Dutch found themselves enabled to attack and annoy their enemy's ports; and, so far were they from sinking under the expence attending so heavy a war, that the government grew rich as well as potent. Facts, so incredible in themselves, would never gain credit with posterity, if they were not supported by the most irrefragable testimony. Such is the omnipotence

tence of commerce, industry, and parsimony ! These are the happy consequences when public spirit prevails in every rank of the community : when the public revenue is carefully applied to the purposes of the state, and firmness executes the plans which wisdom forms.

Soon after this memorable period, the industrious and parsimonious traders of these united states pushed into a considerable share of the commerce carried on with the several parts of Europe, by which England was supplanted at some foreign markets ; yet the great accession of the fugitive Walloons into this country about the same time, whereby the old English drapery was so greatly improved, and several new and valuable manufactures introduced, more than compensated for the loss which our commerce sustained by Holland. The fisheries which the Dutch engaged in were so extensive, that they were enabled to supply almost the whole world with the produce of the ocean. Their East-India trade was, as it were, coeval with their own independence, and, from the first, brought in immense profits. In short, the Dutch left no corner of the world unexplored, to derive from thence new sources of wealth. By which means Amsterdam soon became, what it still is, the immense magazine, or staple, for almost all the productions of the universe.

The English Russia company, in the year 1580, sent out Pett and Jackman, with two barks, to attempt a passage to the East Indies by the Straits of Waygatz and Nova-Zembla. After many perils and difficulties, from the ice and intense cold, one of them returned home unsuccessful, but the other was never heard of more.

The provinces of Zealand and Holland were now delivered from the Spanish bondage, and were growing considerable by their maritime power : this, however, produced a bad effect on the disposition of the common people, who committed great outrages at sea, and particularly on English ships. Unmindful of the
services

services which had been rendered them, they justified their piracies under a pretence, that a correspondence was maintained by the English with the inhabitants of Dunkirk, with whom they were at war. At first their hostilities were exercised only on such vessels as were bound to that port; but, growing bolder through impunity, their insolence rose to such an height, that the queen sent out Mr. Holstock, her comptroller of the navy, with a small squadron, who quickly drove the Dutch frigates into their harbours, and sent two hundred of their seamen to prison. The queen, not satisfied with this punishment, sent Sir William Winter, and Robert Beele, Esq. to demand restitution of the goods taken from her subjects; which, however, they did not obtain; on this account the Dutch factors, residing in England, suffered very severely: but the refugees of all nations, who had fled hither for the sake of religion, were not only hospitably received, but obtained various privileges to invite their stay, and to fix in this country the manufactures in which they had laboured when at home. The French and Spaniards, who could not but be sensible of the advantages this nation derived, and the loss which they themselves suffered, by the migration of their artificers, enacted several laws to prevent this evil, which operated, as oppressive acts generally do, to the increasing the mischief they were designed to prevent. Even that natural attachment and preference to one's native country, which is inherent in every breast, was extinguished by the cruelties which they had suffered.

The queen, in the year 1582, granted a charter to certain merchants, giving an exclusive trade to Turkey, guarded with many reservations in favour of the crown. With the first factors that went out from England, to establish this trade, Hakluyt, to whom the world is much indebted for the earliest and best information concerning geographical and commercial matters, sent instructions to enquire into the nature of
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dying the stuff of Turkey, and into the art of dying; and what of those drugs which are there used for dying might be cultivated in England. In order that they might exert themselves in making these researches, he instances the advantages that then had been derived to England, by bringing into the kingdom trees, plants, roots, &c. of foreign growth, which have thriven well, and been highly beneficial; as those instances of transplantation are very curious, we shall transcribe them for the information of our readers. "Saffron was first brought into England by a pilgrim; and also woad, originally from Thoulouse in Languedoc. The damask rose by Dr. Linacre, physician to Kings Henry VII. and VIII. Turkey fowls about 1532. The artichoke in King Henry VIII's time. Afterwards the musk rose, and several sorts of plumbs by Thomas lord Cromwell from Italy. The apricot by King Henry VIII's French gardener. [No mention is made of peaches or nectarines, so that we may conclude they were of later date.] In 1578, from Vienna in Austria, divers kinds of flowers called tulipas; from Zante, in the Levant, the plant that bears the coren, and, although it brings not fruit to perfection, yet it may serve for pleasure and for some use. [This shews it was but then just introduced.] Many other things have been brought in that have degenerated, by reason of the cold climate: some things brought in have, through negligence, been lost: and Archbishop Grindal brought the tamarisk plant from Germany, and many people have received great health by this plant."

Queen Elizabeth having granted a patent to Sir Humphrey Gilbert, (half brother to Sir Walter Raleigh,) for new discoveries westward; he made three voyages thither: the two first, in 1578 and 1579, were attended with no advantages. In 1583, he sailed on his third voyage from Plymouth, with five ships, and at Newfoundland was assisted by the English fishing-

ships there in taking possession of that island for himself, under the crown of England. He had carried with him many artificers, with toys, &c. for traffic. Here he erected the standard of England, and granted leases to many persons for stages to cure their fish; the Portuguese, French, and Spanish, ships' crews agreeing thereto. He thence sailed to Cape Breton, and to the coast of the continent of North America, where he lost one of his ships. Meeting with many other disasters, he returned homeward, but was lost in a storm, all on-board his ship perishing: only one out of the five ships got safe back to Falmouth. Mr. Walter, afterwards Sir Walter Raleigh, then a young man, was deeply engaged in this project.

In the same year Adrian Gilbert obtained the queen's patent for five years, for attempting the discovery of a north-west passage to China, by the title of *The Colleagues of the Fellowship for the Discovery of the North-west Passage*: which scheme came to nothing.

A charter was granted by Queen Elizabeth, to a society of merchants and gentlemen, to make discoveries in America; Mr. Walter, above-named, set on foot this undertaking, and Amidas and Barlow, with two vessels, were fitted out for the purpose: they sailed so much to the southward as to enter the gulph of Florida, and, coasting it northward, anchored in a bay of what is now called Virginia. They brought home some pearls and tobacco, the first of the latter that had been seen in England. Either the queen, or Sir Walter Raleigh, gave the country the name of Virginia. Hereupon a patent was granted to Raleigh, for the possessing of such remote heathen lands, not then inhabited by Christians, as they should discover in six years, the property in which vested in them for ever, with a reservation to the crown of a fifth part of all gold and silver ore found therein.

Among the many voyages undertaken for the purpose of discovery, which this reign produced, was one

by Mr. Thomas Fenton, who sailed in May 1582, with three ships and a bark. He was employed by government in this voyage, and his instructions are preserved in Hackluyt. By them he appears to have been directed to attempt the discovery of a north-west passage, by a new route; for he was to go to the Cape of Good Hope; from thence to the East Indies and the Molucca Islands; after which he was to cross the great South Sea, or Pacific Ocean, and endeavour to trace a river, of which Drake only formed a conjecture, when he anchored in a large bay in the country which he called New Albion, and which was laid down about the forty-fifth degree of north latitude. Here it was supposed that a passage might be found quite through the northern parts of America, and thereby a communication be formed with the Atlantic Ocean; but, by some means or other, this voyage took a different direction, and was attended with nothing of any national importance.

The year 1585 was rendered remarkable by the total destruction of the famous city of Antwerp, the most flourishing commercial city in the world, by the Duke of Parma. Three thousand of its miserable inhabitants fell by the sword; fifteen hundred were either burnt or trodden to death; and as many drowned in the Scheld. The fury of Spanish bigotry, and arbitrary power, disseminated the commerce and manufactures of the Netherlands among most of the countries of Europe west and north of the Mediterranean Sea. England received, in great numbers, the merchants and workmen concerned in silks, damasks, and taffaties; and in baizes, says, serges, stockings; and it would have yet been more peopled on this dispersion, if foreign merchants had not been subject to pay double duties on their merchandize, and foreign artificers excluded from the immunities of natural-born subjects.

The same year the assembly of the Seven United Provinces sent deputies to Queen Elizabeth, requesting

her to take them under her protection, or else to grant them sufficient aid, during their war with the King of Spain. The queen refused to be their sovereign, but sent to their assistance the Earl of Leicester, with an army of five thousand foot, and one thousand horse: which nobleman gave great disgust to the Hollanders, by his imperious carriage; and, by his imprudence and incapacity, gave the Duke of Parma, the Spanish general, considerable advantages over the confederacy, which he was too able a general not to improve.

Captain John Davis first sailed into the Straits of North America, which now bear his name; and returned home, without having made any useful discovery. The use of the harpoon, for killing whales, was not then known; so that his voyage procured him no advantages from that fishery.

The second circumnavigation of the world, made in one continued voyage, was performed by another Englishman, Mr. Thomas Cavendish, at his own expence, and was effected in two years and two months. He entered the South Sea by the Straits of Magelhaen, with three ships, two of which he lost afterwards on the voyage. He followed the same track with Drake, proceeding along the western coast of all South America; and, in his progress, greatly annoyed the Spanish settlements: a rich Spanish ship from the Manillas likewise fell into his hands. As the object of both these voyages was to harass the Spaniards, and make prize of their silver treasures, no geographical or scientific purposes were answered thereby. These long voyages were found so pernicious to the seamen, an inveterate scurvy, that marine pestilence, sweeping them off in great numbers, that no English ships are known to have visited the South Sea from this time until Queen Anne's reign, when, on the breaking out of a war with Spain, two privateers from Bristol sailed on that distant and perilous station.

From

From Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts (printed in the third volume of Churchill's Collection of Voyages) we learn, that the then famous and adventurous Earl of Cumberland was the first English subject that built a ship so large as eight hundred tons burden; which he employed, with some other ships, in an expedition, at his own private expence, against Spain.

The several trials for a north-west passage to China, by Hudson's and Davis's Straits, and of a north-east passage thither, either to the north of Nova Zembla, or else between it and the main land of Russia, through the Straits of Waygatz; also the annual voyages to Archangel; had so accustomed the English to those boisterous seas, that some of the company trading to Russia at this time set on foot a fishery for whales, which was now become an object of commercial regard, from the fins of that fish being made use of in women's stays.

The German merchants of the Steel-yard were now considered as the rivals of the English merchants, the latter being united under the name of Merchant-adventurers: accordingly great jealousies prevailed between those two bodies. The Hanse-towns had so much influence in the German court, their views being seconded by the Spanish minister, as to procure the expulsion of the English merchants out of Germany. As a retaliation for this injury, the queen directed the lord-mayor and sheriffs of London, to shut up the house inhabited by the merchants of the Hanse-towns at the Steel-yard; and likewise published a proclamation, enjoining all the Germans there, and every where throughout England, to quit the kingdom on the same day that the English were obliged to leave Staden. From this time, the place called the Steel-yard has been appropriated to other purposes.

A charter was granted in the year 1600, to George earl of Cumberland, and two hundred and fifteen knights, aldermen, and merchants, to trade to the East Indies;

Indies; which company's ships, on their first voyage, when homeward-bound, took possession of the Island of St. Helena, then uninhabited, but well stocked with goats, hogs, and poultry, by the Portuguese, who made it an occasional place of resort. This rocky island the English planted and fortified, and held it, undisturbed, for seventy-three years. This first voyage was undertaken in February, 1601, by Captain James Lancaster, with five ships, from one hundred and thirty to six hundred tons burden, having four hundred and eighty sailors on-board. He touched at Achen, and established an English trade through the Indies. Returning to Europe, the ship he was aboard, named the Dragon, lost her rudder, and received other damage, after it had left the Cape of Good Hope. Another ship, named the Hector, being still in company, by his firmness and care he reached St. Helena, where he put his ship in a condition to proceed on her voyage, and arrived in the Downs the 11th of September, 1603. By this successful voyage, he acquired a handsome fortune, and lived for many years in affluence.

About the year 1603, the English East-India Company first settled a factory at Surat, on the coast of Malabar in the East Indies.

This charter was not clogged with so many reservations to the crown as that granted in 1582 to the Turkey company. It was, however, expressly mentioned, that in case the charter should hereafter appear to be unprofitable to the crown and realm, then, upon two years notice to the company, it should cease and determine; but, if otherwise, the queen therein promised, at the end of fifteen years, upon the company's suit, to grant them a new charter for fifteen years longer. This is the very same East-India Company, which, through many vicissitudes, subsisted, under the same denomination, till the year 1708, when it was absorbed by the present united company of merchants trading to the East Indies.

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The East-India Company so formed, raised a capital of seventy-two thousand pounds, but not on one joint stock, or common capital, as in succeeding times; there being no joint stock in this company till the year 1613. They went on in a method of sundry copartnerships, and smaller stocks. On the first establishment of this trade, many objections were loudly urged against it, which were circumstantially answered. One great object proposed by it was, the supplying the kingdom with spices from the countries which produced them; whereas they were before procured by the way of Turkey. The interference of this branch of trade with the Turkey Company, was, probably, the principal cause of these clamours.

As foreign commerce now increased very rapidly in England, an act of parliament was passed for awarding commissions to hear and determine policies of assurance made among merchants; by the preamble to which it appears, that it had been, time out of mind, an usage among merchants, when they make any great adventure, to give some consideration of money to other persons, to have from them assurance made of their goods, merchandize, ships, and things adventured, at such rates as the parties agree: which course of dealing is commonly called a policy of assurance, or insurance, of ships and merchandize on the seas, and is of great antiquity, even so far back as the reign of the emperor Claudius Cæsar.

In the year 1601 Captain William Parker was fitted out, by some private adventurers, to cruise against the Spaniards in the West Indies. He had two ships, and about two hundred and thirty men. He reduced St. Vincent's, one of the Cape de Verd islands; then sailed to the coast of America, took the town of Le Rancheria, in the island of Cubagua, on the coast of Terra Firma. He proceeded next to Porto Bello, and entering the harbour by moonlight met with no resistance from the fort. He then attacked the place by surprise,

surprize, which, after an obstinate defence, he carried by assault. His moderation and generosity to the Spaniards, after he had made himself master of the place, deserves to be recorded; particularly as they do not often occur in the naval or military transactions of these times. Don Pedro Melendez, the governor, he set at liberty out of respect to his brave defence of the place; the town he spared, and, on quitting it, set the garrison at liberty.

In the last year of Queen Elizabeth's reign, another expedition was set on foot against the coasts of Spain; the command of which was given to Sir Richard Levison, and Sir William Monson. Their first attempt was made against the Spanish flota, but without effect: they then assailed the harbour of Cezimbra, where a number of Spanish ships lay, two of which they destroyed: they made prize of a rich carrack, worth a million of ducats. Eight large ships found means to escape out of the harbour, seven of which were destroyed by Sir Robert Mansel, near Dover.

The queen closed her long and glorious reign with the entire reduction of Ireland. During her reign she sent over more men, and employed more treasure, in the reduction of that kingdom, than all her predecessors.

State of the British Army to this Time, with the Modes of Attack and Defence.

AS the soldiers who composed our ancient armies were not always clothed by government, it seems probable they had not any regular uniform: very little respecting soldiers' clothes occurs in history or the records of early date; in several writs commanding the sheriffs to assemble the forces of their counties, the soldiers are directed to come clothed with a suit, but no particular direction is given, either as to its make or colour. Indeed their armour seems to have formed
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the chief part of the military dress of those times; and this was the soldiers own property, kept either in consequence of their feudal tenures, or provided in obedience to the statute of Winchester, or that of Queen Mary, by which it was superseded. It however, appears, that government sometimes clothed the troops, of which Rymer affords us an instance in the year 1337, 11th of King Edward III. where that king having ordered a thousand men to be raised and trained with lances, five hundred in North Wales and five hundred in South Wales, he also directed the chamberlains of North and South Wales to purchase a sufficient quantity of cloth for making one suit for each man, consisting of a tunic and mantle, the cost of which should be allowed in their accounts at the treasury.

After the practice of furnishing soldiers by indenture took place, it seems, that the captains used to stop part of the soldiers pay, to purchase necessaries for them, and also for other purposes; this being complained of, an act of parliament was passed in the 18th of Henry VI. (chap 18.) wherein captains were forbidden to stop any part of a soldier's pay, except for his clothing: "that is to say, if he was waged for half a year, ten shillings a gown for a gentleman, and six shillings and eight pence for a yeoman, upon pain of twenty pounds for every spear, and ten pounds for a bow, to the king;" a spear was the weapon carried by a gentleman; a bow by a yeoman; whence the soldiers of those times, as at present, were denominated from the weapons with which they were armed.

Before this time soldiers were distinguished by badges, of their leaders arms, similar to those now worn by watermen. At the battle of St. Alban's the army of the queen of Henry VI. and the Earl of Warwick, as well as that of the Duke of York, were distinguished by badges; a mistake concerning them gave the victory to the latter. Besides these badges, the soldiers of those times frequently wore distinguishing scarves.

A. D. 1512, 4th of Henry VIII. that king having issued his commission to the Earl of Shrewsbury, to raise an army to oppose an invasion threatened by the French, gives him the following direction: "And ye then to delyver, for us, and in our name, to every of our subjects so retayned in your company, suche badges, tokyns, or lyveres to were, as by you shall be thought most convenient for the same, which we will they shall were for the same purpose."

A curious manuscript in the college of arms contains the orders of the Duke of Norfolk to the conductor of the waward of an army, raised the 36th of Henry VIII. respecting the clothing, which, according to our present ideas, seems more calculated for jack puddings or merry andrews than soldiers: it is here literally transcribed: "Furst, every man sowdyer to have a cote of blew clothe, after suche fashion as all fotemens cotes be made here at London, to serve his majestie in this jorney, and that the same be garded with redde clothe, after such sorte as others be made here. And the best sene (that is, the best looking men) to be trymmed after such sort as shall please the captayne to devise. Every man to have a cap to be made to put his sculle or sallete in, after such fashion as I have devised." The colour of the soldiers coats, notwithstanding the quotation given above, seems generally to have been white.

The badge here seems set aside. A proclamation in the same book, signed J. Hertford, explains the distinction adopted in its place: "My lord lieutenant doth farther straitley charge and command, that no man of this armye, nor any other resortinge to the same, be he soldier, victualler, or other, do presum after this proclamation to come within the circuit or presynckt of this campe, oneles he have a red crosse sew'd upon his uppermost garment, upon payne of 15 dayes imprisonment, and to be farther ordered at my lord lieutenante's pleasure."

In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, A. D. 1584, the colour of the uniform was changed again; for she having caused an hundred men to be raised in Lancashire for the Irish service, a letter from the lords of the council to the sheriff and justices of that county directs, “that besides the arms here specified, the soldiers should be furnished with swords and daggers, likewise convenient doublets and hose, and also a cassocke of some motley or other fadd grene coller, or russet.” Also “every souldier to have five shillings to provide a mantle in Ireland, besyds his livery coat, when he shall be there aryved.”

This was the regulation for the clothing of the infantry: but we learn from the same authority, that the uniform cloaks worn by the cavalry were red; their fashion is described in a detail of the appointments of the lancers or horsemen, directed by Queen Elizabeth to be furnished by William Chalderton, bishop of Chester, and his clergy, in part of a thousand launces, to be sent to the assistance of the Low Countries; “And for their apparell (says the order), yt shal be convenient that you see them furnished of redd clokes, lined, without sleeves, and of length to the knee, doublets, hose, hatts, boots, and all other necessarie apparell for there bodies.”

A very particular account of the clothing of the army employed in Ireland, A. D. 1599, is given by Sir John Harrington, wherein the different articles are specified, and the prices stopped for them weekly from the subaltern officers and private soldiers.

Under the article of summoning the defensible men of the realm, may be placed some very extraordinary writs, issued in the reigns of King Edward III. and Richard II. directed to the archbishops and bishops, directing them to arm, array, and regiment, all the abbots, priors, monks, and other ecclesiastical persons, of what diocese soever, between the ages of sixteen and sixty.

Notwithstanding these writs were at least three or four times issued, history does not inform us that these reverend battalions were ever actually called forth under arms. Indeed many seemingly insuperable obstacles militated against it. First, the immunities of the church, which would have been highly violated by making private soldiers of its members; next, many councils and canons, as well as the determinations of different popes, all concurred in prohibiting ecclesiastics to use any other sword than that of the spirit, or by any means to spill human blood. Besides, the very order directed an impossibility: how could a monk, who had no private property, purchase armour or weapons, had it even been lawful for him to make use of them. Besides, supposing them assembled, armed, and regimented, it would have required a much greater time to render them in any degree fit for service than the exigency of the cause for which they were assembled would admit. Perhaps, after all, these summonses were issued rather with an intent to draw a commutation from their treasury, than to call them to the field. It seems extremely difficult to reconcile the practice of the ecclesiastics of ancient times with their principles and laws. We every where read of bishops serving in, and sometimes commanding, armies; and frequently of their fighting, like private troopers, in the ranks of a squadron, and that not in crusadoes or religious wars: at the same time canons, councils, and popes, unanimously forbid ecclesiastics of all degrees to use the sword, or engage in any military operations. An instance of this is shewn in the case of Philip de Dreux, bishop of Bevais; who, as Mathew Paris relates, being taken prisoner by King Richard I. in complete armour, was confined in prison; the pope, interfering in his behalf, solicited his release, under the title of his son and the son of the church: in answer to which, the king sent him the coat of mail, wherein the bishop was taken, with the following question, "Is this thy son's coat

coat or not?" to which the pope ingenuously answered, it was neither his son's coat, nor the coat of the son of the church; thereby disavowing him, and declining to interest himself for an ecclesiastic so improperly employed. This bishop, in order to avoid offending the letter of the canon and other regulations, did not use a sword, but fought with a mace, of which he made so powerful an use, that at the battle of Bozines he beat down Longsword earl of Salisbury; how he contrived to avoid the spilling of blood is not so evident, since it would be next to impossible to beat out a man's brains without causing the prohibited effusion.

From the time of King Edward III. when it became customary for our kings to engage with their subjects, and other persons, by indenture, to furnish soldiers at certain wages, most of our armies consisted of stipendiary troops; such was the army raised and commanded by the Bishop of Norwich, A. D. 1382, the 6th of Richard II. and in the army of the 16th Henry V. In France there were so many stipendiaries, that, in his orders to the captain of Rouen, they, and the soldiers, are separately mentioned. The words soldier and stipendiary are etymologically the same; soldier is derived from *solde*, pay; and stipendiary from *stipendium*, wages or hire. Custom, perhaps, made the difference; the first signifying one of the constitutional military, and stipendiary of the indented troops. As the agreement with the Bishop of Norwich, respecting the army here alluded to, gave rise to a very extraordinary military trial, the substance of that agreement, as extracted from the rolls of parliament, is here laid before the reader. The Bishop of Norwich, who had before made an offer for guarding the seas, now came before the king and parliament, and offered, if he would grant him the whole fifteenth, lately voted by the commons for carrying on the war, he would serve him in France for one whole year,

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with two thousand five hundred men at arms, and two thousand five hundred archers, all well arrayed and mounted, of whom one thousand men at arms, and the same number of archers, should (God willing) be at the sea side, within twenty days from the payment of the money, properly equipped, and ready to embark for the succour of the city of Gaunt, and the county of Flanders; he likewise undertook to pay the expence of transporting this army, and all other incidental charges, for the due performance of which, he offered to enter into sufficient obligations. This proposal appeared to the king and his parliament fair and advantageous; but, before it was accepted, the king desired he and his council might be acquainted what leaders the bishop intended to procure for commanding these troops, their numbers, and names, as it was well known, that, unless an army had good officers at its head, it would soon fall to anarchy and ruin. To this the bishop answered, that, if it pleased the king to accept of his proposals, he would employ some of the best captains in the land, his majesty and the blood royal excepted, but that he would not give their names till he was sure of having a grant of the expedition; on this it was asked him, what lord he desired to have with him, to act as the king's lieutenant, as one was absolutely necessary in so high and weighty a business, who should have power to take cognizance of crimes, and to do other things necessary, which office never was to this time granted to a prelate, or any man of holy church. The bishop then offered to give the king in writing, the names of a certain number of lords, out of whom he might select any one he thought best qualified for that office, who, on his appointment, should have orders to obey him (the bishop) in all things appertaining to the crusade, and he, on his part, would engage to obey the lieutenant in all things relative to his lieutenancy, and moreover, if within the said year it should happen, that the kingdom of France submitted

submitted to Urban the true pope, he would furl and withdraw the banner of the crusade, and serve the king the remainder of the year with his stipulated number of men, under his own proper banner. This being approved of by the king in parliament, the king granted his licence to all such persons as chose to accompany the bishop in this expedition, the royal retinue and those of the great lords excepted, to leave the realm without molestation. The bishop then delivered to the king the names of four persons of his kingdom, from among whom he might chuse his lieutenant; this he did not do, for what reason is unknown; but granted, that if the bishop could not agree with any of the lords by him named, or some other sufficient person, worthy to bear so high an office, he might in that case have the government and disposition of the army in all things. The bishop however was very far from fulfilling his agreement, either with regard to the number of troops or the time they were to serve; for which neglects he was brought to trial, and sentenced to have his temporalities seized, and to be fined at the pleasure of the king.

The ancient mode of quartering our troops may in a great measure be gathered from the ordinances of war, and seems to have differed very little from that now in use, except that they were indiscriminately quartered on all householders.

The king, or some officer authorised by him, having directed the march of the army, or any part of it, issued out his mandate to the chief civil magistrate of that district to which it was destined, requiring him to provide quarters and provisions for the occasion. In order to provide victuals for the army, it was sometimes ordered that no market should be held in a number of the neighbouring counties: many proclamations of this kind, temp. Edward III. are extant, and one of the 13th of Richard II. wherein it was directed that no markets should be held in these seven shires, to
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wit, Berks, Surrey, Suffex, Southampton, Wilts, Dorset, and Somersetshire; but that all victuals should be brought to Portsmouth to the army where it lay waiting for transportation. On the approach of the army, the marshal, who acted as quarter-master general, attended by the chief harbinger, those belonging to the different corps, and the harbingers of the great officers, went forwards; when the general quarters, being assigned to the marshal, were by him divided and delivered out of the regimental and other herbergers, whose names had been previously given in to the constable and marshal by their respective officers or lords; whether the present form of billeting was then used, is not certain, though it is most likely that it was.

Rapin says, that William the Conqueror quartered almost all his troops upon the monasteries, and obliged the monks to find them in necessaries; by which means he maintained his army without any charge, and had spies in all the religious houses, who watched the actions of the monks: these houses were, long after, charged with finding carts and horses for the carrying of the baggage of the army; and there are still extant, many of the original returns from different monasteries, stating the number of each they were able to furnish for that purpose.

In the 9th of Richard II. A. D. 1385, an order was sent from the king and council to all mayors, &c. reciting, that having retained William Drayton and Hugh Spenser, with a certain number of men at arms and archers, to set out for the town of Gaunt with all possible speed; they the said mayors, &c. were commanded to be assistant to certain servants appointed by the said William and Hugh to secure decent and sufficient quarters, at Dover, Sandwich, and the ports adjacent, such as to them shall seem most proper and convenient for obtaining victuals and necessaries.

In the 10th of the said king, there is an order to the mayor of London, acquainting him, that his majesty
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majesty being informed, that Charles king of France, meditated an invasion of this kingdom; he had ordered his army to assemble as soon as possible, at London; and that he being desirous that his army and liege men may be lodged in the said city, and that they may be accommodated with victuals for their money, had directed the herbergers of the different leaders, to meet the marshal at a street called the Ropery, there to receive quarters from him: it was also ordered, that no herberger to any leader should quarter any one by his own authority, without the warrant of the marshal, under pain of forfeiting his armour and harness.

The soldiers were forbidden (under pain of forfeiting all they could forfeit) to molest any victualler, or to take any provisions without payment. No one to rob or pillage his quarters, on pain of life and members, and every other possible forfeiture. No victualler, armourer, or dealer in horses, to take greater prices for their goods, than before this time was usually given, under pain of forfeiting the said goods. These ordinances were directed to be publicly proclaimed at all expedient places. A proclamation was also issued, forbidding the raising the prices of horses, armour, &c. persons disobeying this order, to be arrested and imprisoned till the king should order their enlargement.

It appears that the great officers of state attending our kings, had particular quarters assigned them and their retinue for life, as is instanced in Thomas earl of Dorset, to whom Henry V. A. D. 1414, the second year of his reign, assigned the town of Stratford Langthorn, with the parish of Ham in Essex, for life, for the herbergage of his men-servants and horses, whilst attending the king at Westminster; insomuch, that the king's herbergers could not assign it to any other, nor take from thence grass, hay, horse, cart, carriages, nor other necessities, during his stay there; always provided that the said earl should justly pay for all sorts

of hay, horses, carts, &c. taken for his use; in like manner, Canford and Poole, in Dorsetshire, were granted for the herbergage of the Earl of Salisbury, whilst attending the king in those parts.

In the year 1415, the third of King Henry V. that king issued his commission to John Merston and William Enger, directing them to provide quarters at Plymouth and places adjacent, for John Tiptoft, knt. seneschal of the duchy of Aquitaine, his men at arms, soldiers, and their horses, who were to embark from thence for the said duchy; and also to take and provide victuals and other necessaries for them during their stay, to be promptly paid for with the money of the said John; in this purveyance, the fees of the church to be excepted; the civil magistrates were herein directed to be assisting.

About the time of Henry VII. we meet with a regulation that somewhat respects quarters, this is a coat and conduct-money; the first was, as has before been observed, a species of clothing, probably for recruits; the money for which was advanced by the county wherein they were raised, or such other as was directed by the king or his privy council: conduct-money was an allowance for subsistence, to and from the army, according to the number of days the soldiers had to march: a day's march was sometimes estimated at twelve and sometimes at fifteen miles: both the coat and conduct-money were occasionally advanced by the different counties wherein the troops were quartered, under the promise of being repaid by government.

At what time cannon were first used in Europe is not clearly ascertained: if we may credit John Barbour archdeacon of Aberdeen, King Edward III. had artillery in his first campaign against the Scotch, A. D. 1327: these the archdeacon calls "Crakys of war:" Father Daniel does not carry his claim in behalf of the French so high by some years, as he only cites a record preserved in the Chamber of Accounts at Paris,

to prove that the French had and used cannon in the year 1338. Vilani, an Italian author, says, the English had cannon at the battle of Cressy, in 1346: this, however, is not mentioned by Froissart, or any other of the many historians who have described that battle. Luigi Collado states the introduction of cannon to have taken place in 1366: and other authors say, that cannon was first used by the Venetians against the Genoese, in 1378. These machines when first invented, were rather mortars than cannon, most of them having chambers: they were in general constructed of iron bars, foldered or welded together, and strengthened with iron hoops: others were made of plates of iron rolled up and fortified with hoops of the same metal: of the first kind there are several remaining at Woolwich. One belonging to --- Pooley, esq. in Suffolk: and another well known by the name of Mons Meg, now in the Tower, and also several of those hooped guns which were loaded by chambers fixed in at the breech; these are kept in a cellar at Peele, in the Isle of Man: cannons, called also bombardes, were at first chiefly made of hammered iron, but in process of time many were cast of that composition, named bell or gun metal: they were also sometimes made of plates of iron and copper, with lead run between them: one of these sort of guns was taken up on the coast of Ireland by a fisherman, and is supposed to have belonged to the Spanish armada: another gun of this kind is kept in a cellar before mentioned, in the Isle of Man.

Although artillery seems to have been used from the time of King Edward III. and purchased from abroad by all our successive kings, it seems extremely strange, that none of our workmen attempted to cast them, till the reign of King Henry VIII. when in 1521, according to Stowe, or 1535, (Camden says,) great brass ordnance, as cannon and culverins, were first cast in England, by one John Owen, they formerly

merly having been made in other countries : whether this man did not succeed, or died before the year 1543, is not mentioned; but in that year, according to Stowe, the king employed two aliens as his gun-founders: his words are, “ The king, minding wars with France, made great preparations and provision, as well of munitions and artillery, as also of brasse ordnance; amongst which at that time, one Peter Bawd, a Frenchman born, a gun-founder, or maker of great ordnance, and one other alien, called Peter Van Col-len, a gunsmith, both the king’s feedmen, conferred together, devised, and caused to be made, certain mortar pieces, being at the mouth, from eleven inches, unto nineteen inches wide; for the use whereof, the said Peter and Peter caused to be made certain hollow shot of cast yron, stuffed with fire-works or wild-fire; whereof the bigger sort for the same had screws of yron to receive a match to carry fire kindled, that the fire-work might be set on fire to break in small pieces the same hollow shot; whereof the smallest piece hitting any man, would kill or spoil him; and, after the king’s return from Bullen, the said Peter Bawd by himself, in the first year of Edward VI. did also make certain ordnance of cast yron of diverse sorts and forms, as sawconets, falcons, minions, sakers, and other pieces.” Chambered pieces for throwing stones, called cannon-perriers, port-pieces, stock-fowlers, sling-pieces, portingale-bases, and murtherers, were about this time much used in small forts, and on ship-board.

King Henry VII. and his son Henry VIII. took great pains to introduce the art of gunnery into this kingdom, and for that purpose both of them had a number of Flemish gunners in their daily pay.

The ancients seem to have had but very imperfect ideas of the benefit arising from that kind of mutual defence, which constitutes the very essence of our modern fortification; their chief dependence appears to have been on the height and thickness of their walls; they

they however found that when the enemy was close under them, they could not molest them by arrows, darts, or stones, unless by such as they could let fall perpendicularly on their heads; hence the kind of defence, called a machiolation, was probably among the first discoveries on that subject; they, however, soon found, that persons who could not be seen from the main ramparts, might be seen, and shot or thrown at, from towers projecting beyond these walls; round towers were then constructed at small distances one from the other, and portions of wall between them were built in a right line, so that the circle which was probably the original figure of most ancient towns was changed into a polygon; this, in some measure, remedied the evil complained of, but there still remained parts of and near the tower which could not be seen, called dead angles; to remedy these, the towers were built square, and sometimes set with one of their angles in the angle of the wall; near as they were to the true shape, this contrivance did not do, till at length, some more lucky thought dictated the method of describing the salient faces of the towers, by right lines drawn from the angles, made by the sides of the adjoining towers, with the curtain or main wall; this completed the matter and left no spot unseen or undefended by the opposite towers; obvious as this is, round towers continued in use even so late as the reign of King Henry VIII. many of the forts and block-houses built by that king for the defence of the coast, having towers of that form.

To obtain an accurate idea of an ancient fortress, let us consider it from without. The first work that presented itself, was the bayles, a space on the outside of the ditch commonly surrounded by strong palliades and sometimes by a low embattled wall. Next the bayle was the ditch, fofs, grass, or mote, generally where it could be a wet one and pretty deep: the passage over it was by a drawbridge, frequently covered

vered by an advanced work, called a Barbican, sometimes the barbican was beyond the ditch covering the head of the drawbridge. The term barbican is still preserved by the ruins of different castles: a small stone work covering the gate of Bodiam castle, in Suffex, is still called the barbican. In towns and large fortresses the barbicans were large and strong, frequently having a ditch and drawbridge of their own.

The outermost walls enclosing towns or fortresses were commonly perpendicular, or had a very small external talus, they were flanked by semi-circular, polygonal, or square, towers, commonly about forty or fifty yards distant from each other; within were steps to mount the terre pleine of the walls or ramparts, which were always defended by an embattled or crenellated parapet.

The grand entrance was mostly through a gate flanked by two large and strong towers, with a projection over the passage, called a machicolation, being a contrivance for letting fall great weights, scalding water, or melted led, on the heads of any assailants who might have got undiscovered close to the gate: further to secure the entrance there were commonly one or more iron portcullis's fashioned like narrows, which were drawn up and let down by means of grooves cut in the stone. Besides these, there were strong wooden gates of enormous thickness, with a wicket, both secured by large bars and bolts of iron, and strengthened with iron plates and large-headed nails driven at a small distance from each other.

On entering the outer gate the next part that presented itself was the outer ballium, or bailey, separated from the inner ballium by a strong embattled wall and towered gate, here frequently in old castles we see large mounts of earth, probably erected as a sort of cavaliers in some former siege, to equal a moving tower, or command some distant work of the besiegers.

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To the outer ballium joined the inner ballium, where were commonly the houses and barracks for the garrison, the chapel, stables, and hospital: within this or at one corner of it, surrounded by a ditch, stood the keep or dungeon, generally a large square tower, flanked at its angles by small turrets, having within them one or more wells. This keep was to our old fortresses, what the citadel is to modern ones, the last retreat or redout of the garrison.

The walls of these castles are generally of an immoderate thickness. The governor's residence was usually in the second or third story from the ground. The tops of these keeps are surrounded by an embattled parapet, from whence there is a view over the adjacent country.

In fortified towns the outworks and external walls were as has been mentioned, only that instead of one they had several great gates besides sally-ports and posterns: and a castle which in former times, citadel-like, was intended to keep the inhabitants in awe, as well as for defence against external enemies. In times of war or civil dissention, the streets of towns, and narrow passes, were often defended by iron chains drawn across them, charged with a number of spears, the points of which were presented to an enemy, in the same manner as cannon from a platform.

The infantry of this country, in earlier periods, were defensively armed, with a kind of iron scull-cap, named a bacinet from its similarity to a basin, and a coarse leathern or linen doublet, stuffed with cotton or wool, called an acketon, or hoqueton, and sometimes a jack. Such men as wanted these appointments, were returned under the denomination of *naked* foot, and received an inferior pay. The weapons chiefly used by the infantry were the lance, sword, and dagger, the gisarme, battle-ax, pole-ax, black or brown bill, mallet, morris-pike, halbert, and pike. The archers had the long and cross bow, which, after the introduction of fire-

arms, were gradually superseded by the hand-gun, harquebuss, musket, caliver, and firelock, as was the pike by the bayonet.

The gisarme is so variously described, that its form remains doubtful; it is, however, most probable, that it was somewhat of the bill kind. It is directed by the statute of Winchester to be provided and kept by persons possessed of less than forty shillings land, and is described among the inferior weapons.

Of the battle-ax there are various sorts and forms, some calculated for being used with one hand, and some with both; the latter were chiefly carried by the foot, and were commonly put into the hands of strong and active men. The battle-ax was also considered as a royal weapon, and was borne as such, at the funerals of Henry VII. and Queen Mary, and solemnly offered up at the altar, with the helmet, gauntlets, and crest.

In a manuscript account of the armour and weapons in the different arsenals and armouries of this kingdom, taken in the first of Edward VI. among those in the armoury at Westminster, are four battle-axes parcel gilt, with long small staves of brassell, garnished with velvet and white and green and silk; these probably were intended for the king, or some great officer. Battle-axes are, as has been before observed, still carried by the gentlemen pensioners, the guards of the lord lieutenant of Ireland.

The pole-ax differs very little from the battle-ax, except in name, some derive its appellation from that kind of ax being much used in Poland, and say, that its true name is the Polish ax; some again deduce it from its supposed use, which was to strike at the head or poll: and others say it is called a pole-ax, from being fixed on a long pole. It seems likely, that both battle-axes and pole-axes were latterly more used for the state guards of princes and generals, than for the common purposes of war.

The

The black, or, as it is sometimes called, the brown bill was a kind of halbert, the cutting part hooked like a woodman's bill, from the back of which projected a spike, and another at the head. The denomination of black or brown arose from its colour: the one from a black varnish, with which this weapon was frequently covered, the other, from its being often brown with rust. Bills were not only borne by soldiers, but also by sheriffs officers attending executions, and watchmen: with these it was no uncommon practice to chalk the edges, which gave them the appearance of having been newly ground.

In a manuscript, written during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the duty of captains of halberts or bill-men is thus defined: "Captaines of halbarts or blacke billes, chieffeye those halbartes bearinge corseletts gardinge the ensignes, wearinge swordes and daggers, me-ryteth more wages then others bearinge blacke bills, usuallye called the slaughter or execution of the battaile, alwaies readie and attentive to their ensignes, as well by secret commandements as by sounde of the dromme, never to depart from the same till it bee broughte into ye place of good safetie."

In the armies of King Henry VIII. Mary, and Elizabeth, there were a great number of bill-men, as may be seen in different accounts of the musters of those times. In an extract from the certificate of musters for the county of Stafford, made A. D. 1569, 11 Eliz. the parish of Yoxhall was thus divided: "Pikemen 3, bilmen 5, harquebuz 9, unable men 29." And of two hundred men raised in Lancashire, 1584, for the Irish service, eighty are, by the queen's letter to the sheriff, directed to be furnished with calivers, forty with corslets, forty with bows, and forty with halberts, or good black bills: besides the arms here specified, it was ordered that all the soldiers should be furnished with swords and daggers. Bills were also much used at sea, as is shewn by the account

of the navy of that reign, where, under the article of furniture, the different kinds of arms and weapons are specified.

The mell, maule, or mallet, of arms, was a weapon formerly used by both the English and Scots. In the memorable combat fought in Bretagne, in the year 1315, between thirty champions on the part of the English and the like number on that of the French, one of the English champions, named Billefort, was armed with a leaden mallet weighing twenty-five pounds. Father Daniel, in his History of the French Army, quotes the manuscript memoirs of the Marquis de Fleurange, in the library of the King of France, to prove that the English archers still used mallets in the time of Louis XII. who began his reign in the year 1515, and died in 1524. In the ancient poem of the Battle of Floddon, leaden mallets are several times mentioned; from the description there given, it seems as if the head of the mell was entirely of lead, hooped round at the ends with iron.

The morris or Moorish pike was a weapon much in use in the sixteenth century, both by sea and land: some derive its name from Maurice prince of Nassau, whom they suppose the inventor of it; but this is certainly an error, as that weapon frequently occurs in descriptions of battles fought in the reign of Henry VIII. particularly that of Floddon, which happened in the year 1513, fifty-four years before Prince Maurice was born. Indeed, in the poem on that engagement, it is called the Moorish pike, which seems to be its true name.

The halbert differs very little from the bill, being like it constructed both for cutting and thrusting. The blade of a halbert consists of three parts: the spear, the hatchet, and the flook or hook. The first is intended for thrusting or charging in battle; the second for cutting; and the third for pulling down works made of fascines, in an attack on trenches, or
other

other temporary fortifications. Some halberts are called sword-blade halberts, from the part designed for pushing, being formed like the blade of a sword. This weapon is said to have been invented by the Switzers; the pope's guard of that country still carry it. Monsieur de Belay, a French military writer, speaks of it as a very late invention. I have been told by a Switzer, that the ancient manner of using this weapon was, to tell off the front rank of halberdiers alternately into pushers and strikers; so that while one half charged with their spears, the others struck and cut with the hatchets of their halberts. Halberts were commonly borne by the guards of the great officers of the army, and also by a set of chosen men, appointed to protect the colours; at present they are only carried by serjeants of the battalion-companies in the infantry.

The pike was a species of spear or lance, solely appropriated to the infantry. In the form as last used it was of no great antiquity. The bayonet was not yet introduced.

To enforce the practice of archery, it was enacted by a statute of the 33d of Henry VIII. that every man under the age of sixty not labouring under some bodily incapacity, ecclesiastics and judges excepted, should use the exercise of shooting in the long bow, and keep in their possession bows and arrows. That fathers, governors, and masters, should instruct and bring up their sons and youths under their charge in the knowledge of shooting; that every man having a boy or boys in his house, should provide for each of them, of the age of seven years, and until he arrived to that of seventeen, a bow and two shafts, to induce him to learn and practise archery; if a servant, the cost of the bow and arrows might be deducted out of his wages; and that after such youth had arrived at his seventeenth year, he should then buy, and constantly keep, a bow and four arrows. That if any parent or master, having a youth or youths under seventeen years of age,

should suffer any one of them to want a bow and two arrows for one month together, he should for every such neglect forfeit six shillings and eightpence, and every servant above seventeen years of age, and under sixty, who received wages, neglecting to furnish himself as here directed, for every default should forfeit six shillings and eightpence. Justices of assize of gaol delivery, justices of the peace, and stewards of franchises, leets, and law-days, had power to enquire respecting the observance of this law, and to punish persons wanting bows and arrows, as here directed.

The prices of bows were occasionally regulated by acts of parliament, from whence we learn, that the price of bow-staves had increased from two pounds to twelve pounds the hundred, between the reigns of Edward III. and the eighth of Elizabeth; though this is said to have been partly effected by the confederacy of the Lombards. In the reign of Edward III. the price of a painted bow was one shilling and sixpence, that of a white bow one shilling; a sheaf of arrows if "acerata," or with steeled points, one shilling and twopence, if non acerata, (blunt or unsteeled,) one shilling. In the 24th of Edward IV. no bowyer might sell a yew bow to any of the king's subjects for more than three shillings and fourpence, and in the 38th of Henry VIII. the price of a yew bow, for any person between the ages of seven and fourteen years, was not to exceed one shilling. The bowyers were besides to have by them inferior bows of all prices from sixpence to one shilling. The price of a yew bow of the tax called elk, to any of the king's subjects, was limited to three shillings and fourpence. In the eighth of Elizabeth, bows of foreign yew were directed to be sold for six shillings and eightpence, the second sort at three shillings and fourpence, and the coarse sort, called livery bows, at a price not exceeding two shillings each, and bows of English yew at the same. A clause of a former act, directing the bowyers of London and Westminster

Westminster to make four bows of different wood for one of yew, was repealed, with respect to those artificers dwelling in those places, on their representation that the citizens of London would purchase none but yew bows.

Arrows were made of different kinds of wood, but, according to Roger Ascham, ash was the best. Their heads were of the best iron, pointed with steel; for this purpose, the flocks of anchors were sometimes used. Arrows were armed with iron heads of different forms and denominations; some were barbed, which rendered it impossible to draw them forth from the wound, without laceration; they were feathered with part of a goose's wing. Arrows were reckoned by sheaves; a sheaf consisted of twenty-four arrows: they were carried in a quiver, worn on the right side, or at the back. This served for the magazine; arrows for immediate use were often worn in the girdle.

The force with which an arrow struck an object at a moderate distance, may be conceived from an instance given by King Edward VI. in his journal, wherein he says, that an hundred archers of his guard shot before him, two arrows each, and afterwards all together, that they shot at an inch board, which some pierced quite through, and stuck into the other board; divers pierced it quite through with the heads of their arrows, the boards being well-seasoned timber: their distance from the mark is not mentioned.

In ancient times phials of combustible composition for burning houses or ships were fixed on the heads of arrows, and shot from long bows. Neade says, he has known by experience, that an archer may shoot an ounce of fire-work upon an arrow twelve score yards. Arrows with wild-fire, and arrows for fire-works, are mentioned among the stores at Newhaven and Berwick, in the first of Edward VI.

The bow maintained its place in our armies, long after the introduction of fire-arms, and many experienced

rienced foldiers have been advocates for its continuance, and even, in some cafes, preferred it to the mufket. The long bow might on fome occasions undoubtedly at this time be ufed with great advantage, particularly againft cavalry: a few hories wounded by arrows left fticking in them would probably become fo unruly as to diforder a whole fquadron; befides, the fight and whizzing of the arrows before the heads of thofe hories they did not hit, would keep them in a conftant ftate of terror and reftivenefs. Nor would a flight of arrows falling on a battalion of foot fail of a confiderable effect, independent of the men they killed or wounded, as when fhoot with an elavation they would be vifible almoft from the time they left the bow, and it would require a more than ordinary exertion of courage to refrain from looking at them, and endeavouring by fome movement to avoid them; this, by engroffing the attention of the men, would prevent their acting with vigour againft a battalion opposed to them; archers could act in the rear of a battalion of infantry, and even of a fquadron of cavalry.

To protect themfelves againft the attacks of cavalry, our archers carried each of them one or two long ftakes, pointed at both ends, thefe they planted in the earth, floping before them, the points prefented the height of a horfe's breaft. In the firft of Edward VI. three hundred and fifty of thefe were in the ftores of the town of Berwick, under the article of archers' ftakes; there were alfo at the fame time eight bundles of archers' ftakes in Pontefract caftle. Stakes of this kind were ordered by the Earl of Salifbury, in the wars of Henry V. in France.

To the many laws, ordinances, and regulations, ifued for the fupport of archery, may be added the institution of the Artillery Company, which was incorporated by the patent of Henry VIII. in the year 1537, to Sir Chriftopher Morris, knight, mafter of the ordnance,

nance, Anthony Nevett and Peter Mewtes, gentlemen of the privy chamber, overseers of the fraternity or guild of St. George, granting licence to them to be overseers of the science of artillery, videlicet, for long-bows, cross-bows, and hand-guns; and the said Sir Christopher Morris, Cornelys Johnson, Anthony Anthony, and Henry Johnson, to be masters and rulers of the said science of artillery, during their lives; and to them and their successors for ever, being Englishmen or denisons, and the king's servants, authority to establish a perpetual fraternity or guild, and to admit all honest persons whatsoever, as well strangers as others, into a body corporate, having perpetual succession, by the name of "Masters, Rulers, and Commonalty, of the Fraternity or Guild of Artillery of Long-bows, Cross-bows, and Hand-guns," with the usual powers granted to corporations of purchasing lands, and using a common seal. This society might elect four under masters, either English or strangers, of good character, to oversee and govern the company, and to have the custody of their property, real and personal; these might be chosen annually. The fraternity were also authorised to exercise themselves in shooting in long-bows, cross-bows, and hand-guns, at all manner of marks and butts, and at the game of the poppe-maye, and other game or games, as at the fowl and fowls, as well in the city of London and suburbs, as in all other places wheresoever, within the realm of England, Ireland, Calais, and the marches of Wales, and elsewhere, within the king's dominions, his forests, chases, and parks, without his especial warrant reserved and excepted, as also game of heron and pheasant, within two miles of the royal manors, castles, and other places, where the king should fortune to be or lie, for the time only. The masters and rulers of this fraternity were exempted from serving on any inquest within the city of London, or any where else within the realm: and the king further granted, that if any

of the fraternity shooting at a known and accustomed butt, having first pronounced or spoken the usual word *fast*, should after that happen by mischance to kill any passenger, he should not suffer death, nor be impeached, troubled, or imprisoned, for it. The patent was directed to be made out under the great seal, without the payment of any fees to the king, his heirs, or the hanaper, and was passed the 29th of Hen. VIII.

What was the particular form of exercise used by the infantry in our ancient armies, is uncertain, nor is it mentioned in any books I have been able to find; probably it was somewhat like that handed down to us by Ælian, in which was practised the facings, opening, closing, and doubling, the ranks and files, counter-marching and wheeling; indeed, it would be an absurdity to suppose, that an army could ever have been led to the field uninstructed in some uniform principles of movement, and handling their arms; and it is also certain, that the great number of various troops assembled at the crusades, would tend to assimilate the tactics of the whole, as every nation would undoubtedly adopt the form of discipline most approved of in the army.

From Camden we learn, that an innovation in our national military discipline then took place towards the latter end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, introduced by the officers who had served in the Low Countries; this, it appears, was disapproved of by many ancient commanders and soldiers, a circumstance extremely natural, since they were thereby reduced from the rank of masters or teachers, to that of scholars or learners, a degradation to which it requires great philosophy to submit; this innovation in part consisted of a more general introduction of fire arms, and a consequent decrease of archers.

The ancient ensigns were of different kinds, some were to be fixed or planted, being too heavy to be carried by one man; others were attached to different

corps or persons, and carried about with them : carrying a banner or standard in the day of battle, was always considered as a post of honour, and in our histories, we frequently meet with several instances of persons rewarded with pensions for valiantly performing that duty : the office of the royal standard-bearer was usually granted for life, with a very large salary ; an entry in the wardrobe account gives a description of some of the ensigns of King Edward I. which were thus charged : two with the arms of England, one with those of St. George, one with the arms of St. Edmond, and one with the arms of St. Edward ; they were all fixed in lances. The different kinds of ensigns anciently in use, were standards, banners, guidons, pennons, pencils, and banderolls, or camp colours. The standards were originally large flags fixed on the tops of towers, or other elevated places, and, from their being stationary, were called standards, though this term was afterwards given to moveable ensigns, as at present to those borne by the cavalry.

Banners were small, and of a square figure, somewhat about the make and size of the standards now borne by the horse or dragoons ; banners were borne before knights bannerets, whose arms were embroidered on them.

Pennons were borne before knights batchelors, who brought a certain number of followers into the field ; there are some instances of pennons being carried before esquires, but it was only those possessed of certain estates or fiefs ; the pennon was in figure and size like a banner, with the addition of a triangular point ; they were charged with the armorial bearings of their owner ; on the performance of any gallant action by the knight and his followers, the pennon was converted into a banner by the king, or commander in chief, cutting off the point, whereby the knight was raised to the degree of a banneret. Both knights and bannerets were bound to appear in the field at the head of a cer-

tain number of men, whence ancient historians frequently express the strength of an army by the number of banners and pennons of which it consisted.

The guidon, according to Markham, is inferior to the standard, being the first colour any commander of horse can let fly in the field. It was generally of damask fringed, and usually three feet in breadth near the staff, lessening by degrees towards the bottom, where it was by a slit divided into two peaks. It was originally borne by the dragoons, and might be charged with the armorial bearings of the owner. The pencil was a small streamer fixed to the end of a lance, and was adorned with the coat armour of the esquire, by whom it was carried, and served him to point out in the day of battle.

Holy or sacred banners were frequently carried into the field by monks or other ecclesiastics, in order to inspire a confidence in the troops, who were taught to believe, that the saint, whose banner was then displayed, would interest himself in their behalf: thus, the standard of St. Cuthbert was carried with the army of King Edward I. into Scotland, and with that of the Earl of Surrey to the battle of Flodden-field, and several of the standards there taken from the Scots were placed round the tomb of that saint.

The colours of the foot, frequently by the old writers styled ensigns, are square, but larger than the banners or standards of the horse; they are fixed on a spear; formerly there was a stand of colours to every company; they were in time of action guarded by two ranks of halbardiers.

Bandrolls are used to mark out the limits of a camp; at present, they are small square pieces of woollen cloth, of scarlet, quartered with the colour of the facing of the regiment, and are commonly called camp-colours.

Military music, before the introduction of fire-arms, served to animate the soldiers in battles and assaults of places,

places, as well as for the purpose of signals for the different manœuvres and duties in camp and garrison; wherefore it cannot be doubted but it was used in our ancient armies.

The common military instruments of music were the trumpet, drum, fife, and horns of different kinds. The trumpet is of the most remote antiquity, and frequently occurs in the scriptures, as being used by the Israelites. The Romans had both the strait and crooked trumpet; and trumpets of both kinds have been found in different parts of England, generally supposed to be Danish. The drum was probably introduced into Europe from the East by the Crusaders; a kind of kettle-drum, called the *naccaire*, is mentioned by Joinville in the Life of St. Louis, as being used by the Saracens.

The fife is said to have been introduced by the Switzers; Albert Durer, in one of his engravings of the soldiers of that nation, has represented a fifer.

The side-drum, so called from being borne on the side of the person who beats it, is too well known to require a description. It was anciently called the *tabour*, of which there is an instance in Froissart, cap. 147, where it is said, that King Edward III. was attended by a great number of trumpets and drums, when he made his entry into Calais after having taken it by a long siege. From an ancient manuscript it appears, that during the reign of King Edward IV. a royal order was issued for impressing trumpeters. Among the household expences of King Henry VII. in the 19th year of his reign, there is the following entry: "Item, to one that played upon the *droome*, 6s. 8d."

In a diary of the siege of Boulogne, A. D. 1544, by King Henry VIII. printed in Rymer, there is mention made of the drummers and *viffleurs*, marching at the head of the king's army; and in the household account of the 34th of that king by Brian Tuke,

drumflades and fifers are charged. In the list of the army employed at St. Quintin's, trumpets and drums were appointed to the different corps, in the proportion of one trumpet to each troop of an hundred men, both heavy armed and light horse; and a drum and a fife to each company of foot consisting of an hundred men. Besides these trumpets, a drum and a fife made part of the suite or retinue of the great officers.

The captain general had two trumpets, one drum, and one fife; the lieutenant general, one trumpet; the high mareschal, one trumpet, one drum, and one fife; the captain general of the infantry six viffleurs, one drum, and one fife; and the master of the ordnance, one drum and one fife; from the appointment of viffleurs as distinct from the fife, it seems as if there was some difference between those instruments, which are generally conceived to be one and the same. In the succeeding reign drums and fises seem to have been part of the military establishment. The ear-piercing fife, and spirit-stirring drum, are mentioned by Shakespear among the circumstances of war. And in Ralph Smith's Military Collection the qualifications and duties of drummers and fifers are thus laid down: "All captains must have dromes and phiphes, and men to use the same, who should be faithfull, secret, yngenious, of able personage to use their instruments and office, of fundrie language, for often tymes they are sent to parlie with their enemies, to summon their forts and towns, to reddeme and conducte prisoners, and diverse other messages, which of necessitie require languages; if such dromers or phiphers should fortune to fall into the hands of their enemies, no gift or force should cause them to disclose any secrete that they know; they must often practise their instruments, teach the company their sound of the march, allarme, approche, assalte, battell, retreat, skirmish, or any other calling that of necessity should be known."

The

The cavalry of our ancient English armies consisted of the knights, or men at arms, and hobilers; the men at arms derived that appellation from being completely armed, *de cap-a-pie*, or from head to foot. The defensive armour of a man at arms, was a hauberk of double mail, composed of ringlets of iron linked together like a net; this covered the body, and to it were joined a hood, breeches, stockings, and sabatons or shoes of the same construction; the hands and arms are defended by gauntlets and sleeves of mail. In France the hauberk was armour peculiarly appropriated to persons possessed of certain estates or fiefdoms, called *fiefs d'haubert*, and might not be worn by persons of an inferior degree. Commonly under the hauberk, though sometimes over it, was worn a loose garment called a gambeson, which descended as low as the knees, it was stuffed with wool or cotton, and quilted; the use of it was to deaden the strokes of the sword or lance. By a strap, hung over the neck, the men at arms carried a shield made of wood, covered with leather, bound or strengthened with iron or brass, having handles on the inside for bracing it, which was the term then in use to express the putting it over the left arm. These shields were of a triangular form, pointed at the bottom, and a little convex in the direction of their breadth. The helmets worn by the men at arms were of different forms: some conical or pyramidal, with a small projection, called a nasal, to defend the face from a transverse stroke; some cylindrical, covering the whole head down below the chin, with apertures for sight and breath; and others in which the face was totally uncovered. Helmets with beavers and vizors do not seem to have been in use, till the middle of the 14th century, about which time, the hauberk was exchanged by many of our men at arms, for plate armour, so called from being formed of plates of iron. On the crests of their helmets, kings frequently wore their

crowns, earls and dukes their coronets, generals or other officers of rank either their armorial cognisances, or any other device they thought proper; this was done to make them look larger and more terrible to their enemies, and to render themselves conspicuous to their officers and soldiers. To this list of defensive armour may also be added the war-saddle, whose arcon or bows of steel covered the rider as high as the navel.

The knights of the three or four reigns next succeeding the conquest commonly wore the pryck spur, which had only a single point, after which the rouelle or wheel spur came in fashion, some of these rouelles were near six inches in diameter.

Thus enveloped, and loaded with such a number of weighty incumbrances, it is by no means wonderful, that in the midst of summer, in the heat, dust, and press of an engagement, men at arms should be suffocated in their armour, an event which we learn from history has sometimes happened; besides the inconvenience arising from the heat; a man thus swathed up like an Ægyptian mummy could have but small powers of action. Indeed in a charge of cavalry very little exertion is required on the part of the rider, the success chiefly depending on the strength of the horse. All that the ancient knights had to do, was to keep their seats, and direct their lances; but how they were able to use the sword or mace to any effect, seems incomprehensible, though indeed, this in some measure accounts for the small number of knights slain in many engagements between cavalry only, in some of which we read not one knight was killed; probably, as ransom was so great an object with soldiers of those days, they rather wished to capture than to kill their adversaries, for this purpose therefore they endeavoured to unhorse them, as a knight when overthrown was immoveable, and lay on the spot till remounted by his friends, or seized by his enemies.

The

The offensive arms of a horseman, or man at arms, were a sword, or swords, a lance, and a small dagger, called a misericorde, either from its being mercifully used in putting out of their misery persons desperately wounded, or from the sight of it, being apt to cause those against whom it was drawn (commonly knights unhorsed and lying on the ground) to cry Misericorde, mercy or quarter. Men at arms also frequently carried iron maces, suspended at their saddle-bow.

The horses of the men at arms, were scarcely less encumbered with armour than their riders; to prevent their horses from being fatigued under all their own incumbrances, and the enormous weight of their riders, and to preserve their vigour for the charge, the men at arms had commonly hackneys for riding on a march, and did not mount their war-horses till they were certain of coming to action; a circumstance which has frequently occasioned them to be surprised and defeated, before they could mount their chargers and form. Barded horses were in use in our armies, at the time of King Edward VI.

When plate armour came into general use, which was about the middle of the 14th century, the different pieces for a man at arms were these; a close helmet, having a vizor to lift up and let down, or one with a vizor and beaver, both revolving on the same pivots. When these were closed, the air was admitted through apertures made also for sight, and other smaller perforations opposite the mouth and nostrils. The neck and throat were defended by a gorget, or hallercet; the body by a cuirass, formed of two pieces hooked together, denominated back and breast pieces, from the parts they covered; to the back was joined, a gard de reines, or culet; the arms were covered with brassarts, called also avant bras, and corruptly vambraces, the hands by gauntlets, the shoulders by pouldrons, the thighs by cuissarts, and the legs by iron boots, called greaves, and sometimes by boots of
jacked

jacked leather. Under all these was worn a jacket of thick fustian or buff leather; shields seem to have been left off by the cavalry before this alteration.

Plate armour was some time after its introduction made of a prodigious thickness; Monsieur de la Noue, in his fifth military discourse, says, "that, to guard against the violence of harquebusses and pikes, the men at arms loaded themselves with anvils, instead of covering themselves with armour; it was also closely fitted as to make it difficult to penetrate the joints with the misericorde, or dagger." Father Daniel, quotes from Philip de Comines, an instance of this at the battle of Fornoue, under Charles VIII. where a number of Italian knights who were overthrown, could not be slain on account of the strength of their armour, till broke up like huge lobsters by the servants and followers of the army, with large wood-cutters' axes; each man at arms having three or four men employed about him. In the time of Queen Mary, the appellation of men at arms, signifying the heavy-armed cavalry, seems to have been changed to that of spears and lances, and afterwards to cuirassiers.

The armour of a lancier was much the same as last described; their offensive weapons were a lance of sixteen or eighteen feet long, a sword, and petrenels, the last were somewhat longer than the pistols then in use. The cuirassier was also armed cap-a-pie, and had under his armour a good buff coat; his offensive arms were a spit sword, with a sharp point, pistols, or petrenels, his saddle and bit strong, and the reins of his bridle strengthened with an iron chain to prevent their being cut.

Hobilers were a species of light horsemen chiefly calculated for the purposes of reconnoitring, carrying intelligence, harassing troops on a march, intercepting convoys, and pursuing a routed army; the smallness of their horses rendering them unfit to stand the shock of a charge; they seem also to have been occasionally

tionally like the original dragoons of the French, (from whom we borrowed both the name and establishment of those troops), who, Father Daniel says, “were rather considered as infantry mounted on horseback for the sake of moving with celerity, than cavalry fit to charge in the line.”

The yeomen of the guard were raised by King Henry VII. in the year 1485. Rapin, who calls them archers, says they were instituted on the day of his coronation, which was the 30th of October, and that they then consisted of fifty men, to attend him and his successors for ever; a precaution which, in all appearance, he thought necessary at that juncture. By the first regulation, every yeoman of this band was to be of the best quality under gentry, well made, and full six feet high. Their numbers have varied in almost every reign, and formerly consisted of a certain number in ordinary, and an indefinite number extraordinary; and, in case of a vacancy in the former, it was supplied out of the latter number. Their dress is that which was worn in the reign of King Henry VIII. and which on many occasions was put on by that king: it consists of a scarlet coat reaching down to the knees, guarded with garter-blue velvet, and rich badges of the rose-and-crown on their breasts and backs; their breeches are also scarlet, guarded with blue velvet; their caps are of black velvet, with broad round crowns, adorned with ribbons of the royal colours, viz. red, white and blue; one-half of them formerly carried bows and arrows, the other half harquebusses; both had large swords by their sides. Chamberlain says, “the harquebusses have been disused ever since the reign of King William.” In the reign of King Edward VI. this corps was very numerous, for in his journal, published in Burnet’s History of the Reformation, he says, “there mustered before me, an hundred archers, two arrows apiece, all of the guard;” and afterwards, “so it was appointed there should be ordinarily one

hundred archers, and one hundred halbertiers, either good wrestlers, or casters of the bar, or leapers, or runners, all tall men of personage."

The band of gentlemen pensioners was a corps of cavalry instituted by King Henry VIII. for an honourable body guard, and to form a nursery for officers of his army and governors of his castles and fortified places. The orders and regulations for raising and governing it, approved of, and signed by that king, have no date; it is therefore uncertain when they were made; but, from diverse concurrent circumstances, there are good reasons to suppose they were compiled, and the corps formed, in the year 1509, the first of that king's reign; what was the original number is not there mentioned, but most of the chronicles fix it at fifty. This establishment being, it is said, found too expensive, the corps was disbanded a short time after its institution, and before the year 1526 revived on a smaller pay; it is mentioned that year in the household statutes made at Eltham, under the description of the band of gentlemen pensioners, their present title, when the corps stood thus:

A captain with the salary of	200 marks
A lieutenant	100 pounds
A standard bearer	100 marks
Fifty gentlemen pensioners, each	46l. 13s. 4d.
A clerk of the checque	40 pounds
A harbinger	18 pounds

About this time they appear to have done duty on foot in the court, probably armed with battle-axes. Towards the latter end of his reign, King Henry indulged them with permission to do their duty by quarterly attendance, half the band waiting at one time; for which favour each of them was to furnish an additional great horse; they were nevertheless all obliged to attend at the four principal feasts of the year, Christmas, Easter, Whitsuntide, and Allhallowtide. King Henry VIII. was attended by the band at the siege of

of Boulogne, and, after its surrender, they made part of the cavalcade at his triumphal entry into that place. In the succeeding reigns of Edward VI. Mary, and Elizabeth, they were occasionally mustered with the other forces of this kingdom, and frequently performed their military exercises before the court.

The administration of military justice was, in the earlier periods of our history, chiefly under the direction of the high constable and marshal, who presided as judges, and, assisted by civilians and officers experienced in military affairs, tried and punished according to the laws and ordonnances of war then in force, not only all military offences, but likewise determined all kinds of suits depending between the followers of the army. In cases of great import, military delinquents were tried before the parliament. Henry de Essex, standard-bearer to King Henry II. was, for cowardice, in Wales, deprived of his lands, shorne, and shut up for life as a monk in the abbey of Reading. In the rolls of parliament 1st of Richard II. we learn, that William de Weston and John Lord of Gomery were tried in parliament, for delivering up the castle of Outerwyk, and the town and castle of Ardes, in France, and convicted thereof; for which Weston was adjudged to be drawn and hanged; and the Lord of Gomery, on account of his rank and former services, and also not being a liege man, or natural-born subject, was sentenced to be beheaded. The Bishop of Norwich, in the seventh year of the same reign, for diverse military offences as a general officer, appeared before the same tribunal, and was punished with the seizure of his temporalities and a considerable fine.

The rules and ordonnances of war, which served for the guide of the court, and wherein the martial law for the time being was declared, were either made by the king, with the advice of his peers and other experienced persons, for the expedition then on foot,

as were those of King Richard II. and Henry V. or enacted by the commander in chief, the king's authority for that purpose being generally given in their commissions, many of which appear in Rymer. Rebels were sometimes tried by the martial law, as was the case in the reign of Henry VII.

After the attainder of Edward duke of Buckingham, in the 13th of Henry VIII. the office of high constable ceased, and was never renewed but for a limited time; since which the commanders of our armies were entitled lieutenant generals, or, if peers, lord lieutenants, as being the king's representatives, or deputies.

Notwithstanding this, the marshal, who was commonly second in command, retained the prerogative of sitting as chief judge in all cases, not only respecting the discipline of the army, but also in every other cause, controversy, or complaint, that might arise therein. For the more regular dispatch of business, to this court belonged diverse civil officers; among whom were a judge martial, an auditor, and clerks, under provosts, gaolers, tipstaves, and executioners. This court, we learn from the following clause in the ordinances of war of King Henry VIII. was directed to assemble twice a-week. "Item, the high martial must hold two court days in the weke, that is to wit, one Munday and Thursdaie, for them that have anie matters in court, with his officers with him, as it is ordeyned by the chief captain."

As the commissions of most of the commanders in chief contained a clause, authorising them to enact ordinances for the government of the army under their command, and to sit in judgment themselves, or to appoint deputies for that purpose, it seems in some degree imperceptibly to have encroached on the independency of the marshal's court, and at length to have taken a new form under the denomination of the court or council of war, which sat at stated times, or as was
ordered

ordered by the commander in chief, and at which officers of a certain rank, apparently not under that of a colonel, had a right to sit as assessors or members; and, instead of the marshal, we hear of an officer stiled president of the high court of war, who, on certain occasions, claimed the privilege of a double vote.

As the ordonnances of war and martial regulations of our early kings, so far as they can be recovered, give great insight into our military history; I shall lay before my readers such as I have been able to procure.

The first record of this kind is of the time of King John, entitled, "Constitutions to be made in the Army of our Lord the King:" these are apparently calculated to facilitate the supply of the army with necessaries, which it seems were to be exposed for sale in the churches and church-yards, and to be sold under the eye of the superintendants or chief men of the church, who were to attend for that purpose, and to receive the money for the proprietors; and in case they were not present, or neglected to procure proper provisions, the person taking them elsewhere, were to deposit the value in the church. From this it seems, as if markets were sometimes held in church-yards; or perhaps, in times of war or insurrection, on the approach of an army the country people used to drive their cattle, and convey their goods of different kinds, to the church and church-yards, as places of safety and sanctuary, whence no one would dare to take them by force, as it might be deemed a kind of sacrilege and infringement on the immunities of the church: but, as this would cause a want of provisions or necessaries in the army, soldiers might be authorised to take what they stood in need of, on paying the value of the things taken, to the churchwardens, or other superintendants of the churches.

The next is the charter of King Richard I. made in the first year of his reign, A. D. 1189, and chiefly meant to prevent disputes between the soldiers and
sailors,

sailors, in their voyage to the Holy Land. By this it was enacted, that "He who kills a man on ship-board, shall be bound to the dead man and thrown into the sea: if the man is killed on shore, the slayer shall be bound to the dead body and buried with it. Any one convicted by lawful witnesses of having drawn his knife to strike another, or who shall have drawn blood of him, to lose his hand. If he shall have only struck with the palm of the hand, without drawing blood, he shall be thrice ducked in the sea. Any one who shall reproach, abuse, or curse, his companion, shall, for every time he is convicted thereof, give him so many ounces of silver. Any one convicted of theft, shall be shorn like a champion, boiling pitch shall be poured on his head, and down of feathers shaken over it, that he may be known; and he shall be set on-shore at the first land at which the ship touches." To understand this it must be observed, that champions hired to fight legal duels, in cases of murder or homicide, had their hair clipt or shorn close to their heads.

The ordonnances of Richard II. are the next in point of chronological order that I have been able to discover; they are in old French among the Cotton manuscripts, in the British Museum. They contain nothing very remarkable.

In the rules of war made by Henry V. at Mans, there is a very remarkable one concerning the punishment of common women: "Moreover we order that public and common whores are by no means permitted to remain with the army, and especially during the sieges of towns, castles, or fortresses, of any sort, but that they shall be stationed together afar off from the army, at the distance of a league at least, which we will also have observed in all cities, castles, and fortresses, taken by us or our forces, or hereafter to be taken or yielded to us, or others in our name, to wit, that no one shall remain in the said castle or fortress, or shall maintain house whether small or great, *under pain of fracture*

fracture of the left arm of the said whore, if after one admonition she be found publicly or privately in the said prohibited place." The ordinance of Henry VIII. ordered them to be burnt on the right cheek.

The following orders for the English army in 1486, in the second year of Henry VII. before the battle of Stoke, are found in Leland's Collectanea. "The king our soveraign lord doth straytly charge and command, that no manner of man, of whatsoever state, degre, or condition, he bee, rob ne spoyle any chyrche, ne take out of the same any ornament theron belonging, or touche, ne sett hande on, the pix, wherin the blessed sacrement is conteyned; nor yet robbe, ne spoyle, any manner man or woman, upon payne of deth. Also, that no manner of person ne persones, whatsoever they bee, ravish no religios woman, nor mans wiff, daughter, maydene, ne no mannes ne womannes seruant, or take ne presume to take any manner of vytayll, horse mete, nor mannes mete, without paying therfor the reasonable pryce thereof, assised by the clerke of the market, or other the king's officers therefor ordeynede, upon payne of dethe; and over this, that every man being of the retayne of our saide soveraigne lorde, at the furste sounce or blast of the trumpet, to sadil hys hors; at the second doo brydell; and at the third, be redy on horsebake to wayt upon his highnesse, upon payne of imprisonment, &c. &c."

The military code of Henry VIII. is preserved in manuscript in the College of Arms. It does not differ materially from those quoted above.

WARS OF ENGLAND DURING THE REIGN OF THE STUARTS.

JAMES I. the sixth Scottish king of that name, ascended the throne of England in 1603. He derived his title from being the grandson of Margaret eldest daughter to Henry VII. of that kingdom; and,

on the failure of all the male line, his hereditary right remained incontestable. Queen Elizabeth, with her latest breath, had recognized him for her successor; so that few sovereigns ever ascended a throne with more approbation of their subjects, or greater hopes of a happy reign.

Those hopes, however, were soon blasted; and the history of this monarch's reign consists of little else than a detail of disputes and contentions between him and his parliament. A particular and minute account of such transactions could afford very little entertainment; but it is of importance to know their origin, as they are to be reckoned the ultimate causes of those succeeding events which make so conspicuous a figure in the annals of Britain.

In those barbarous ages which preceded the period we are now entering upon, the human mind, enervated by superstition, and obscured by ignorance of every art and science, seemed to have given up all pretensions to liberty, either religious or civil. Unlimited and uncontrouled despotism prevailed every where; and though England suffered less in this respect than almost any other nation, the many examples of arbitrary power exerted by her sovereigns, Queen Elizabeth herself, James's immediate predecessor, not excepted, shew that they were far from being a free people. An incontestable proof of this, and an evidence how little restraint at that time the people could lay upon the authority of the sovereign, is, that the proceedings of parliament were accounted, even by themselves, of so little consequence, that they were not at the trouble to keep journals of them. It was not till the year 1607, four years after the accession of James, that parliamentary journals were kept, at the motion of Sir Edwyn Sandys, a member of great authority in the house.

Towards the end of the 16th or beginning of the 17th century, a great revolution took place, though insensibly;

insensibly, throughout all Europe. Arts and sciences began to flourish, commerce and navigation were greatly extended, and learning of all kinds began to diffuse itself. By more enlarged views, the love of freedom began, in England especially, to take place in the breasts of most people of birth and education; and this was greatly promoted by an acquaintance with the ancient Greek and Latin historians. From the example of the republics of Greece and Rome, whose members had so often sacrificed their lives for the sake of liberty, a patriotic spirit began to arise; and a desire of circumscribing the excessive prerogative and arbitrary proceedings of the crown began secretly to take place throughout the nation.

Nor was this desire unreasonable, or without a solid foundation. During the last years of Queen Elizabeth's reign, the commerce, navigation, and number of seamen in England, had sensibly decayed. A remonstrance from the Trinity-house in 1602 says, that since 1588 the number of seamen and shipping had decayed about a third part. Every species of domestic industry was fettered by monopolies; and by exclusive companies, which are only another species of monopoly, almost all foreign trade, except that to France, was brought into the hands of a few rapacious engrossers; and all prospect of future improvement in commerce was for ever sacrificed to a little temporary advantage to the sovereign. These companies, though arbitrarily erected, had carried their privileges so far, that almost all the commerce of England centered in London; the customs of that port alone amounted to one hundred and ten thousand pounds a-year; while those of all the kingdom besides amounted to only seventeen thousand pounds; nay, the whole trade of London was confined to about two hundred citizens, who were easily enabled, by combining among themselves, to fix whatever price they pleased both on the exports and imports of the nation. Besides this, the subjects

were burdened by wardships and purveyances. The latter was an old prerogative of the crown, by which the officers of the household were empowered to take, without consent of the owners, provisions for the king's family, and carts and horses for the removal of his baggage, upon paying a stated price for them. The king had also a power of sending any person, without his consent, on whatever message he pleased; and thus he could easily force any individual to pay whatever money he chose, rather than be sent out of the country on a disagreeable errand. Money extorted from individuals, by this, or any other method, was called a *benevolence*.

These were some of the grievances under which the nation at this time laboured, and these the rising spirit of patriotism tended to redress. This disposition, however, the severe government of Elizabeth had confined within very narrow bounds: but when James succeeded to the throne; a foreign prince, less dreaded and less beloved; symptoms of a more free and independent genius immediately appeared. Happily James neither perceived the alteration, nor had sufficient capacity to check its early advances. He had established in his own mind a speculative system of absolute government, which few of his subjects, and none but traitors and rebels, he thought, would make any scruple to admit. He considered himself as entitled to equal prerogatives with other European sovereigns, not considering the military force with which their despotism was supported. The almost unlimited power which, for upwards of a century, had been exercised by the English sovereigns, he considered as due to royal birth and title, not to the prudence and spirit of those monarchs, or the conjunctures of the times. In his person, therefore, he imagined all legal power to be centered by an hereditary and a divine right; nay, so fully was he persuaded that he was absolute proprietor of his subjects, that in his speech to the parliament in 1621, he told them,

them, that he “ wished them to have said that their privileges were derived from the grace and permission of him and his ancestors.” And when the same parliament protested that “ the liberties, franchises, privileges, and jurisdictions, of parliament, are the ancient and undoubted birthright and inheritance of the subjects of England,” he was so enraged, that, sending for the journals of the commons, he, with his own hand, before the council, tore out this protestation; and ordered his reasons to be inserted in the council book.

Such were the opposite dispositions of the prince and parliament, at the commencement of the Scottish line; dispositions just beginning to exist and to appear in parliament, but thoroughly established, and openly avowed, on the part of the king, throughout his whole reign.

The English presently grew jealous of the honours conferred by the king on his Scottish subjects. The animosity, which had almost constantly prevailed between the two nations, was not to be cured by the two kingdoms being governed by the same king. James, however, left most of the principal offices in the hands of Elizabeth’s ministers, and intrusted both foreign and domestic affairs to his English subjects. His prime-minister, and chief counsellor, was Secretary Cecil, second son of the great Lord Burleigh, whom he successively created Lord Effindon, Viscount Cranborne, and Earl of Salisbury; his partiality leading him to give him the precedence of his elder brother, whom he likewise created Earl of Exeter, by first signing the patent for his earldom. Raleigh had been the friend and associate of Sir Robert Cecil, so long as their mutual interests led them to labour the destruction of Essex; but, as they were now alike candidates for the favour of the new king, Cecil drew such a character of his friend to that prince, as effectually ruined his interest there. The neglect with which he was treated

at court soon rendered him a malcontent; he therefore was charged with having joined with the Lords Gray and Cobham, together with others, in projecting a scheme for fixing on the throne Arabella Stuart, a near relation to the king by the family of Lenox, and descended equally from Henry VII. The grounds of their accusation were some bold words spoken in the height of resentment, and a letter pretended to be written by Raleigh. The evidence to support this charge was extremely frivolous and inconclusive; yet the jury on such slight grounds found this great man guilty, contrary to all law and equity. Sir Edward Coke, then attorney-general, enforced the charge with the utmost virulence: and, in the course of his pleadings, descended to mean invective. Raleigh, on the contrary, maintained throughout a perfect self-possession, and defended himself with coolness, great force of argument, and with a persuasive eloquence. To all but George Brooke, the Lord Cobham's brother, the sentence of death was mitigated to imprisonment; but the warrant of reprieve was not produced till the Lords Cobham and Gray had laid their heads upon the block. Sir Walter Raleigh suffered thirteen years imprisonment, and was afterwards executed out of complaisance to the Spaniards.

The attention of the parliament was next taken up, by a proposal for an union between the two kingdoms, on which the king was so zealously bent, that he had assumed the title of King of Great Britain; quartered St. Andrew's cross with St. George's; issued a proclamation to make the coin of Scotland current in England; and, to give a general idea of the peace that would flow from it, the iron-gates of the frontier towns were converted into plough-shares. This scheme the parliament took into consideration, rather out of compliment to the king than with any design to bring it into execution; and at length there were appointed forty-four English commissioners, who were to meet
with

with thirty-one of Scotland, to deliberate concerning the terms ; but they were not empowered to take any decisive steps towards an establishment.

On the 18th of August 1604, peace with Spain was finally concluded. In the conferences previous to this treaty, the nations were found to have so few claims on each other, that, except on account of the support given by England to the United States of Holland, the war might appear to have been continued more on account of personal animosity between Philip and Elizabeth than any contrariety of political interests between their subjects. The Constable of Castile came into England to ratify the peace, and, on the part of England, the Earl of Hertford was sent into the Low Countries for the same purpose, and the Earl of Nottingham, high admiral, into Spain. The train of the latter was numerous and splendid ; and the Spaniards it is said were a good deal surprized, when they beheld the blooming countenances and graceful appearance of the English ; whom their bigotry, inflamed by the priests, had represented as so many monsters and infernal demons. During the earl's stay at the Spanish court, Philip III. treated him with the highest marks of distinction, and Nottingham maintained his dignity in such a manner as did honour to the English nation, the Spaniards being struck with admiration of the venerable hero, whose courage and conduct had defeated their invincible armada. At his audience of leave the king gave him a diamond ring of three thousand pounds value, besides other presents amounting to twenty thousand pounds.

In 1605 was discovered the famous gunpowder treason, the anniversary of which discovery hath ever afterwards been celebrated with rejoicings. Its origin was as follows : On the accession of James, great expectations had been formed by the catholics that he would prove favourable to them, both as that was the religion of his mother, and as he himself had been suspected

suspected of a bias towards it in his youth. It is even pretended that he had entered into positive engagements to grant them a toleration as soon as he should mount the throne of England. Here, however, they found their hopes built on a false foundation. James on all occasions expressed his intention of executing strictly the laws enacted against them, and of persevering in all the rigorous measures of Queen Elizabeth. A plan of revenge was first thought of by one Catesby, a gentleman of good parts, and of an ancient family. He communicated his mind to Percy, a descendant of the house of Northumberland. The latter proposed to assassinate the king; but this seemed to Catesby very far from being adequate to their purpose. He told Percy, that the king would be succeeded by his children, who would also inherit his maxims of government. He told him, that even though the whole royal family were destroyed, the parliament, nobility, and gentry, who were all infected with the same heresy, would raise another Protestant prince to the throne. "To serve any good purpose (says he), we must destroy, at one blow, the king, the royal family, the lords and commons; and bury all our enemies in one common ruin. Happily they are all assembled on the first meeting of parliament; and afford us the opportunity of glorious and useful vengeance. Great preparations will not be requisite. A few of us may run a mine below the hall in which they meet; and, choosing the very moment when the king harangues both the houses, consign over to destruction those determined foes to all piety and religion. Meanwhile, we ourselves, standing aloof, safe and unsuspected, shall triumph in being the instruments of divine wrath, and shall behold with pleasure those sacrilegious walls, in which were passed the edicts for proscribing our church and butchering her children, tossed into a thousand fragments; while their impious inhabitants, meditating perhaps still new persecutions against us, pass from
flames

flames above to flames below, there for ever to endure the torments due to their offences."

This terrible scheme being approved of, it was resolved to communicate it to a few more. One Thomas Winter was sent over to Flanders in quest of Fawkes, an officer in the Spanish service of approved zeal and courage. All the conspirators were bound by the most solemn oaths, accompanied with the sacrament; and to such a degree had superstition effaced every principle of humanity from their minds, that not one of them ever entertained the smallest compunction for the cruel massacre they were going to commit. Some indeed were startled at the thoughts of destroying a number of catholics who must necessarily be present as spectators, or attendants on the king, or as having seats in the house of peers. But Tesmond a jesuit, and Garnet superior of that order in England, removed those scruples, by shewing that the interest of religion required in this case the sacrifice of the innocent with the guilty.

This happened in the spring and summer of 1604; when the conspirators also hired a house in Percy's name, adjoining to that in which the parliament was to assemble. Towards the end of that year they began to pierce through the wall of the house, in order to get in below that where the parliament was to sit. The wall was three yards thick, and consequently occasioned a great deal of labour. At length, however, they approached the other side, but were then startled by a noise for which they could not well account. Upon inquiry, they found that it came from a vault below the house of lords; that a magazine of coals had been kept there; and that the coals were then selling off, after which the vault would be let to the highest bidder. Upon this the vault was immediately hired by Percy; thirty-six barrels of powder lodged in it; the whole covered up with faggots and billets; the doors
of

of the cellar boldly flung open; and every body admitted as if it contained nothing dangerous.

Being now, as they thought, assured of success, the conspirators began to plan the remaining part of their enterprize. The king, the queen, and Prince Henry, were expected to be present at the opening of the parliament. The duke, by reason of his tender age, would be absent, and it was resolved that Percy should seize or murder him. The Princess Elizabeth, likewise a child, was kept at Lord Harrington's house in Warwickshire; and some others of the conspirators engaged to assemble their friends on pretence of a hunting-match, when they were to seize the princess, and immediately proclaim her queen. The day so long wished for at last approached; the dreadful secret, though communicated to more than twenty persons, had been religiously kept for near a year and a half; and nothing could be foreseen which could possibly prevent the success of their design. Ten days before the meeting of parliament, however, Lord Montegale, a catholic, son to Lord Morley, received the following letter, which had been delivered to his servant by an unknown hand: "My lord, out of the love I bear to some of your friends, I have a care for your preservation. Therefore I would advise you, as you tender your life, to devise some excuse to shift off your attendance on this parliament. For God and man have determined to punish the wickedness of this time. And think not slightly of this advertisement; but retire yourself into the country, where you may expect the event in safety. For, though there be no appearance of any stir, yet, I say, they shall receive a terrible blow this parliament; and yet they shall not see who hurts them. This counsel is not to be contemned, because it may do you good, and can do you no harm: for the danger is over as soon as you have burned this letter. And I hope God will give you the grace to make good use of it, to whose holy protection I commend you."---

Though Monteagle imagined this letter to be only a ridiculous artifice to frighten him, he immediately carried it to Lord Salisbury, secretary of state; who laid it before the king on his arrival in town a few days after.

The king looked upon the letter in a more serious light. From the manner in which it was written he concluded that some design was forming to blow up the parliament-house with gunpowder, and it was thought advisable to search the vaults below. The lord chamberlain, to whom this charge belonged, purposely delayed the search till the day before the meeting of parliament. He remarked those great piles of wood and faggots which lay in the vault under the upper-house; and casting his eye upon Fawkes, who stood in a corner and passed himself for Percy's servant, he took notice of that daring and determined courage which was conspicuous in his face, and so much distinguished this conspirator even amongst the other heroes in villainy that were concerned in the scheme. Such a quantity of fuel, also, for one who lived so little in town as Percy, appeared somewhat extraordinary: and, upon comparing all circumstances, it was resolved to make a further search. About midnight, Sir Thomas Knevet, a justice of peace, was sent with proper attendants; and before the door of the vault, finding Fawkes, who had just finished all his preparations, he immediately seized him, and, turning over the faggots, discovered the powder. The matches and every thing proper for setting fire to the train were found in Fawkes's pocket; who, seeing now no refuge but in boldness and despair, expressed the utmost regret that he had lost the opportunity of firing the powder at once, and of sweetening his own death by that of his enemies. For two or three days he displayed the same obstinate intrepidity; but, being confined in the tower, and the rack just shewn to him, his cou-

rage at last failed, and he made a full discovery of all the conspirators.

Catesby, Percy, and the other criminals, on hearing that Fawkes was arrested, hurried away to Warwickshire; where Sir Edward Digby, imagining that his confederates had succeeded, was already in arms, to seize the Princess Elizabeth. She had escaped into Coventry; and they were obliged to put themselves in a posture of defence against the country-people, who were raised from all quarters and armed by the sheriffs. The conspirators, with all their attendants, never exceeded the number of eighty persons; and, being surrounded on every side, could no longer have any hope either of prevailing or escaping. Having therefore confessed themselves, and received absolution, they boldly prepared for death, and resolved to sell their lives as dear as possible. But even this miserable consolation was denied them. Some of their powder took fire, and disabled them from defending themselves. The people then rushed in upon them. Percy and Catesby were killed with one shot. Digby, Rookwood, Winter, and others, being taken prisoners, were tried, confessed their guilt, and died, as well as Garnet, by the hands of the common executioner. The Lords Stourton and Mordaunt, two catholics, were fined, the former four thousand pounds, the latter ten thousand pounds, by the star-chamber; because their absence from parliament had occasioned a suspicion of their being made acquainted with the conspiracy. The Earl of Northumberland was fined thirty thousand pounds, and detained several years a prisoner in the tower; because, not to mention other grounds of suspicion, he had admitted Percy into the number of gentlemen pensioners without his taking the requisite oaths.

In 1612, James appears in his most advantageous point of view, namely, as legislator of Ireland, and the person who undertook to civilize the barbarous inhabitants

bitants of that kingdom, and to render their subjection durable and useful to the crown of England. In this work James proceeded by a steady, regular, and well-concerted, plan. He began with abolishing the ancient Irish customs which supplied the place of laws, and which were exceedingly barbarous and absurd. By the Brehon law, every crime however enormous was punished, not with death, but by a fine. Murder itself was compensated in this way. Every one had a value affixed to him, called his *eric*; and whoever was able to pay this, might kill him when he pleased. As for such slight offences as oppression, extortion, or other things of that nature, no penalty was affixed to them, nor could any redress for them be ever obtained. By the custom of *gavelkinde*, upon the death of any person, his land was divided among all the males of the sept or family, both bastard and legitimate; and after partition made, if any of the sept died, his portion was not shared out among his sons; but the chieftain at his discretion made a new partition of all the lands belonging to that sept, and gave every one his share: as no man, by reason of this custom, enjoyed the fixed property of any land, to build, cultivate, or improve, must have been so much lost labour. Their chieftains were established by election, or, more properly speaking, by force and violence. Their authority was absolute; and, notwithstanding certain lands were assigned to the office, its chief profit resulted from exactions, dues, assessments, for which there was no fixed law, and which were levied at pleasure. After abolishing these customs, and substituting English law in their place; James having taken all the natives under his protection, and declared them free citizens, proceeded to govern them by a regular administration, military as well as civil. A sufficient army was maintained, its discipline inspected, and its pay transmitted from England, in order to prevent the soldiery from preying upon the country, as had been usual in former reigns.

When Odoghartie raised an insurrection, a reinforcement was sent over, and the rebellion immediately extinguished. All minds being first quieted by an universal indemnity, circuits were established, justice administered, and crimes of every kind severely punished. As the Irish had been universally engaged in a rebellion against Elizabeth, a resignation of all the rights formerly granted them to separate jurisdictions was rigorously exacted; a resignation of private estates was even required; and, when they were restored, the proprietors received them under such conditions as might prevent all future tyranny and oppression over the common people. The whole province of Ulster having fallen to the crown by the attainder of rebels, a company was established in London for planting new colonies in that fertile country. The property was divided into moderate shares, the largest not exceeding two thousand acres: tenants were brought over from England and Scotland: the Irish were removed from the hills and fastnesses, and settled in the open country: husbandry and the arts were taught them; and by these means Ulster, from being the most wild and disorderly province in Ireland, soon became the best cultivated and most civilized.

This year was also remarkable for the death of Henry prince of Wales, who died suddenly on the 6th of November, not without strong suspicion of poison, for which the king himself was blamed. On opening his body, however, no symptoms of poison appeared; but his death diffused an universal grief throughout the nation, he being reckoned a prince of extraordinary accomplishments.

Though youth and royal birth are ever found powerfully to prepossess men in favour of princes, yet all historians agree in attributing to Prince Henry more substantial merit. His dignified deportment commanded more respect than the age, learning, and experience, of his father could procure. Neither his ex-
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alted rank nor the fervour of youth had seduced him into any irregular pleasures; his mind was engrossed by pursuits tending to form an able and a great prince. Devoted to ambition, martial exercises were his favourite employments. The French king directed his ambassador in England to cultivate the friendship of this prince, "who must soon," said he, "have chief authority in England, where the king and queen are held in so little estimation." That minister, when taking leave of him, found him employed in the exercise of the pike; he asked his commands for France: "Tell your king," said the prince, "in what occupation you left me engaged." Prince Henry had conceived great affection and esteem for Sir Walter Raleigh, of whom he used to say, "Sure no king but my father would keep such a bird in a cage." He seems indeed to have entertained an unbecoming contempt for his father, on account of his pedantry and pusillanimity, and thereby gratified the restless and martial spirit of the English nation. Had he lived to mount a throne, he might probably have promoted the glory at the expence of the felicity of his people. The unhappy prepossession which men commonly have in favour of ambition, courage, enterprize, and other martial virtues, hurries generous natures, who always love fame, into such pursuits as destroy their own peace, and that of the rest of mankind.

The marriage of the Princess Elizabeth with Frederic elector palatine, which was celebrated February 14th, 1613, served to dissipate the grief which had arisen on account of Prince Henry's death. From the issue of this marriage the Brunswick line afterwards succeeded to the crown in the person of George I. But this marriage, in its immediate consequences, proved unhappy to the king as well as his son-in-law. The elector, trusting to so great an alliance, engaged in enterprizes beyond his strength; and James, not being able, and indeed perhaps not willing, to assist him in his

his distress, lost entirely of what remained of the affections of his people. These bad consequences did not begin to appear till the year 1619. At that time the states of Bohemia having taken arms against the Emperor Matthias, in defence of the Protestant religion, and continued their revolt against his successor Ferdinand II. and being alarmed at his mighty preparations against them, made an offer of the crown to the elector palatine. To this they were induced by the greatness of his connections, as being son-in-law to the King of England, and nephew to Prince Maurice, whose authority in the United Provinces was almost absolute; and the young palatine, stimulated by ambition, without consulting either James or Maurice, whose opposition he foresaw, immediately accepted the offer, and marched all his forces into Bohemia, in support of his new subjects. The affairs of the new king were not long in coming to an unfortunate crisis. It was known almost at one time in England, that Frederic, being defeated in the great and decisive battle at Prague, had fled with his family into Holland: and that Spinola, the Spanish general, had invaded the palatinate, where meeting with little resistance, except from one body of two thousand four hundred Englishmen commanded by the brave Sir Horace Vere, he had in a little time reduced almost the whole principality. In 1621, the ban of the empire was published against the unfortunate elector, and the execution of it was committed to the Duke of Bavaria. The upper palatinate was in a little time conquered by that prince; and measures were taken in the empire for bestowing on him the electoral dignity of which the palatine was despoiled. Frederic was now obliged to live with his numerous family, in poverty and distress, either in Holland, or at Sedan, with his uncle the Duke of Bouillon; and the new conquests of the Catholics throughout all Germany were attended with persecutions against the Protestants.

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At this news the religious zeal of the English was inflamed to the highest degree; and they would have plunged headlong into a war with the house of Austria, without reflecting in the least on the consequences that might ensue. The sufferings of their Protestant brethren in Germany were the only objects of consideration, and the neutrality and inactive spirit shewn by James were loudly exclaimed against. With a view to engage him to a neutrality with regard to the succession of Cleves, the eldest daughter of the King of Spain had been indirectly offered during the life of Prince Henry. The bait, however, did not then take; James, in consequence of his alliance with the Dutch, marched four thousand men to the assistance of the Protestants, by which means the succession was secured to the Protestant line. Notwithstanding this assistance from England, it was at this very time that the Dutch committed those horrid barbarities upon the English at Amboyna, of which it will be proper we should here give some account.

Amboyna was first discovered by the Portuguese, who built a fort upon it, which was taken from them by the Dutch in 1605. They did not, however, become masters of the whole island at once. The English had here five factories, which lived under the protection of the Dutch castle; holding themselves safe, in respect of the friendship between the two nations. Great differences had arisen between the Dutch and English colonists in this part of the world; till at last, the English East-India company applying to King James, a treaty was concluded in 1619, by which the concerns both of the English and Dutch were regulated, and certain measures agreed upon for preventing future disputes. This was an additional security to the English; and, by virtue of the treaty, they continued two years in Amboyna, trading with the Dutch. During this time, however several disputes happened; which occasioning mutual discontents, the complaints were

were sent to Jacatra, in the island of Java Major, to the council of defence of both nations there residing; but, they not agreeing, a state of the matter was sent over to Europe, to be decided by the East-India companies of both nations; or, in case they could not agree, by the King of England and the States of Holland, according to an article in the treaty of 1619.---But, before these disputes could be decided in a legal way, the Dutch, in order to give the more specious colouring to the violent seizure which they meditated of the island of Amboyna, made use of the stale pretext of a conspiracy being formed by the English and Japanese to dispossess them of one of their forts in this place. The plot, it was alledged, had been confessed by a Japanese and Portuguese in the English service, who were most inhumanly tortured till they should answer in the affirmative such interrogatories as might favour the secret design of those cruel inquisitors. Upon the injurious evidence of this constrained declaration, they immediately accused the English factors of the pretended conspiracy. Some of them they imprisoned, and others they loaded with irons, and sent on-board their ships; seizing at the same time all the English merchandize, with their writings and books.

These acts of violence were followed by a scene of horror unexampled in the punishment of the most atrocious offenders. Some of the factors they tortured, by compelling them to swallow water till their bodies were distended to the utmost pitch; then taking the miserable victims down from the boards to which they had been fastened, and causing them to disgorge the water; if they did not acknowledge the imputed guilt, the process of torture was repeated. Others of the English they consumed by burning them gradually from the feet upwards, in order to extort the confession of a conspiracy which was only pretended by the infernal policy of those savage tormentors. Some had the nails of the fingers and toes torn off; and in some they
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made holes in their breasts, filling the cavities with inflammable materials, to which they afterwards put fire. Those who did not expire under the agonies of torture were consigned to the hands of the executioner. The allegation of this pretended conspiracy was equally void of probability and truth. The Dutch had a garrison of three hundred men in the fort, besides the burghers in the town, and several other forts and garrisons in the island, while the number of the English did not amount to twenty men; nor were even those provided with arms or ammunition to effect such a design as that with which they were charged. There likewise was not one English vessel in the harbour, whereas the Dutch had eight ships riding near the town: neither, when the Dutch broke open the desks and trunks of the factors, was there found a single paper or letter which could be construed into the most distant relation to any conspiracy. Add to all this, that such of the unhappy sufferers as could speak to be heard, declared, in the most solemn manner, their innocence of the plot with which they were charged. The whole of the transaction affords the most irrefragable testimony, that it was founded entirely upon a political fiction of the Hollanders, who had themselves formed the design of monopolizing the trade of the Spice Islands; for the accomplishment of which they perpetrated, about the same time, a similar tragedy at Pooleron, where they put to the torture one hundred and sixty-two of the natives, whom they likewise charged with a pretended conspiracy. It may justly be reckoned singular in the fortune of this commercial republic, that they have ever since been permitted to enjoy in peace those invaluable islands, which were originally obtained by such atrocious infringements of humanity and the laws of nations, as will stain the Dutch annals, to the latest ages, with indelible infamy.

Sir Walter Raleigh had now been thirteen years confined in the Tower, during which time the sentiments of the nation were much changed concerning him. Men had leisure to reflect on the hardship, not to say injustice, of his sentence; they pitied his active and enterprising spirit, which languished in the rigours of confinement; they were struck with the extensive genius of the man, who, after having employed his life in naval and military enterprizes, had surpassed, in literary merit, such of his age as had been devoted entirely to such pursuits; and they admired his unbroken magnanimity, which, at his age, and under his circumstances, could engage him to undertake and execute so great a work as his History of the world. King James's queen was also very well disposed towards Raleigh: so that at length, James was prevailed upon to set him at liberty, and granted him a commission, under the privy seal, empowering him to undertake a voyage to the south parts of America, inhabited by heathen and savage people; the king reserving to himself a fifth part of the gold, silver, and precious stones, which should be procured by the voyage. Raleigh sailed with twelve ships for the coast of Guiana, and again proceeded up the great river Oronoque, but without procuring the valuable productions the idea of which had engaged numbers to embark with him in the enterprize. On his return to England, Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador at the court of London, represented, in very strong terms, the depredations which he had committed on the settlements in those parts, at a time when the two kingdoms were on friendly terms with each other. James dreaded, beyond measure, entering into a foreign war, and chose to sacrifice Raleigh to appease the Spaniards. It cannot be denied, that he had committed unwarrantable violences, and for such acts of injustice he ought to have been tried, and undergone condign punishment; but the king, his master, chose to punish him in a more

arbitrary manner; he put in force the sentence which had been pronounced against him fifteen years before, and in consequence of which he had endured thirteen years imprisonment. Mr. Hume supposes Raleigh to have spread the report of the existence of a gold mine in Guiana, in hopes thereby of recovering his liberty, not from a real belief of it himself; and, by landing at Guiana twenty-three years before, he had acquired to the crown of England, according to the notions which then did and at present do prevail, a claim to the country.

It had happened in the mean time, that the Spaniards, not knowing or not acknowledging this imaginary claim, had taken possession of a part of Guiana, had formed a settlement on the river Oronoque, had built a little town called St. Thomas, and were there working some mines of small value.

To this place Raleigh directly bent his course; and, remaining himself at the mouth of the river with five of the largest ships, he sent up the rest to St. Thomas, under the command of his son, and of Captain Keymis, a person entirely devoted to him. The Spaniards, who had expected this invasion, fired on the English at their landing, but were repulsed, and pursued into the town. Young Raleigh, to encourage his men, called out, "That this was the true mine, and none but fools looked for any other;" and, advancing upon the Spaniards, received a shot, of which he immediately expired. This dismayed not Keymis and the others. They carried on the attack: got possession of the town, which they afterwards reduced to ashes; and found not in it any thing of value.

Raleigh did not pretend, that he had himself seen the mine, which he had engaged so many people to go in quest of; it was Keymis, he said, who had formerly discovered it, and had brought him a lump of ore, which promised immense treasures. Yet Keymis, who owned that he was within two hours march of

the place, refused, on the most absurd pretences, to take any effectual step towards finding it; and he returned immediately to Raleigh, with the melancholy news of his son's death, and the ill success of the enterprize. Sensible to reproach, and dreading punishment for his behaviour, Keymis, in despair, retired into his cabin, and put an end to his own life.

The other adventurers now concluded, that they were deceived by Raleigh; that he never had known of any such mine as he pretended to go in search of; that his intention had ever been to plunder St. Thomas; and, having encouraged his company by the spoils of that place, to have thence proceeded to the invasion of the other Spanish settlements; that he expected to repair his ruined fortune by such daring enterprizes; and that he trusted to the money he should acquire, for making his peace with England; or, if that view failed him, that he proposed to retire into some other country, where his riches would secure his retreat.

The small acquisitions gained by the sack of St. Thomas, discouraged Raleigh's companions from entering into these views; though there were many circumstances in the treaty and late transactions, between the nations, which might invite them to engage in such a piratical war against the Spaniards.

When England made peace with Spain, the example of Henry IV. was imitated, who, at the treaty of Vervins, finding a difficulty in adjusting all questions with regard to the Indian trade, had agreed to pass over that article in total silence. The Spaniards, having, all along, published severe edicts against the intercourse of any European nation with their colonies, interpreted this silence in their own favour, and considered it as a tacit acquiescence of England in the established laws of Spain. The English, on the contrary, pretended, that, as they had never been excluded by any treaty from commerce with any part of
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the King of Spain's dominions, it was still as lawful for them to trade with his settlements in either Indies as with his European territories. In consequence of this ambiguity, many adventurers from England failed to the Spanish Indies, and met with severe punishment when caught; as they, on the other hand, often stole, and, when superior in power, forced, a trade with the inhabitants, and resisted, nay sometimes plundered, the Spanish governors. Violences of this nature, which had been carried to a great height on both sides, it was agreed to bury in total oblivion; because of the difficulty, which was found, in remedying them, upon any fixed principles.

But, as there appeared a great difference between private adventurers in single ships and a fleet acting under royal commission, Raleigh's company thought it safest to return immediately to England, and carry him along with them to answer for his conduct. It appears, that he employed many artifices, first to engage them to attack the Spanish settlements, and, failing of that, to make his escape into France; but, all these proving unsuccessful, he was delivered into the king's hands, and strictly examined, as well as his fellow-adventurers, before the privy-council. The council, upon enquiry, found no difficulty in pronouncing, that the former suspicions, with regard to Raleigh's intentions, had been well grounded; that he had abused the king in the representations which he had made of his projected adventure; that, contrary to his instructions, he had acted in an offensive and hostile manner against his majesty's allies; and that he had wilfully burned and destroyed a town belonging to the King of Spain.

Raleigh, finding his fate inevitable, collected all his courage: and, though he had formerly made use of many mean artifices, such as feigning madness, sickness, and a variety of diseases, in order to protract his examination, and procure his escape; he now resolved
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to act his part with bravery and resolution. " 'Tis a sharp remedy," he said, " but a sure one for all ills;" when he felt the edge of the axe, by which he was to be beheaded. His harangue to the people was calm and eloquent; and he endeavoured to revenge himself, and load his enemies with public hatred, by strong asseverations of facts, which, to say the least, may be esteemed very doubtful. With the utmost indifference, he laid his head upon the block, and received the fatal blow, A. D. 1617.

No measure of James's reign was attended with more public dissatisfaction than the punishment of Raleigh. To execute a sentence, which was originally so hard, which had been so long suspended, and which seemed to have been tacitly pardoned by conferring on him a new trust and commission, was deemed an instance of cruelty and injustice. To sacrifice, to a concealed enemy of England, the life of the only man in the nation who had a high reputation for valour and military experience, was regarded as meanness and indiscretion: and the intimate connections, which the king was now entering into with Spain, being universally distasteful, rendered this proof of his complaisance still more invidious and unpopular.

In 1618, Gondomar the Spanish ambassador made offer of the king's second daughter to Prince Charles; and, that he might render the temptation irresistible to the necessitous James, gave hopes of an immense fortune that should attend the princess. Upon this match James had built great hopes, not only of relieving his own necessities, but of recovering the palatinate for his son-in-law; which last, he imagined, might be procured from the mere motive of friendship and personal attachment.

This last step was equally disagreeable to the commons with the rest; and, joined to the other pieces of James's conduct, at last blew into a flame the contention which had so long subsisted between their sovereign
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and them. On the 14th of November 1621, the commons framed a remonstrance which they intended to carry to the king. They represented, that the enormous growth of the Austrian power threatened the liberties of Europe; that the progress of the Catholic religion in England bred the most melancholy apprehensions lest it should again acquire an ascendant in the kingdom; that the indulgence of his majesty towards the professors of that religion had encouraged their insolence and temerity; that the uncontrouled conquests made by the Austrian family in Germany raised mighty expectations in the English Papists; but above all, that the Spanish match elevated them so far as to hope for an entire toleration, if not a final re-establishment, of their religion. They therefore intreated his majesty, that he would immediately undertake the defence of the palatinate, and maintain it by force of arms; that he would turn his sword against Spain, whose armies and treasures were the chief support of the Catholic interest in Europe; that he would enter into no negociation for the marriage of his son but with a Protestant princess; that the children of Popish recusants should be taken from their parents, and committed to the care of Protestant teachers and schoolmasters; and that the fines and confiscations to which the Catholics by law were liable, should be levied with the utmost severity.

The king, who was then at Newmarket, hearing of the intended remonstrance, wrote a letter to the speaker, in which he sharply rebuked the house for debating on matters far above their reach and capacity; and he strictly forbade them to meddle with any thing that regarded his government, or deep matters of state, and especially not to touch on his son's marriage with the Spanish princess. Upon this the commons framed a new remonstrance, in which they asserted their right of debating on all matters of government, and that they possessed entire freedom of speech in their debates.

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The king replied, that their remonstrance was more like a denunciation of war, than an address of dutiful subjects; that their pretension to inquire into all state affairs without exception, was such a plenipotence as none of their ancestors, even during the reign of the weakest princes, had ever pretended to; that public transactions depended on a complication of views and intelligence, with which they were entirely unacquainted; that they could not better shew their wisdom, as well as duty, than by keeping within their proper sphere; and that, in any business which depended on his prerogative, they had no title to interpose with their advice, unless when he pleased to ask it, &c. The commons in return framed the protestation already mentioned, which the king tore out of their journals, and soon after dissolved the parliament. The leading members of the house, Sir Edward Coke and Sir Robert Phillips, were committed to the Tower; three others, Selden, Pym, and Mallory, to other prisons; and, as a lighter punishment, some others were sent to Ireland to execute the king's business. Sir John Saxeville, however, a powerful man in the house of commons, and a zealous opposer of the court, was made comptroller of the household, a privy counsellor, and soon after a baron. This event is memorable; as being the first instance in the English history, of any king's advancing a man on account of parliamentary interest, and of opposition to his measures.

This breach between the king and parliament soon made politics become a general subject of discourse, and every man began to indulge himself in reasonings and inquiries concerning matters of state; and the factions which commenced in parliament were propagated throughout the nation. In vain did James, by reiterated proclamations, forbid discourses of this kind. Such proclamations, if they had any effect, served rather to inflame the curiosity of the public. In every company or society the late transactions became the subject

subject of argument and debate; some taking the side of monarchy, others of liberty; and this was the origin of the two parties since known by the names of Whigs and Tories.

James, despised by his people, thwarted by his parliament, possessing a weak and frivolous mind, incapable of furnishing any rational means of happiness, sought a refuge from chagrin in the company and solace of a favourite. Robert Carr, a youth of about twenty years of age, and of a good family in Scotland, found means to obtain the ascendancy in the king's esteem. James soon knighted this minion, created him Viscount Rochester, gave him the garter, brought him into the privy-council, and entrusted him with the supreme direction of all his business and political concerns, till, at length, he created him Earl of Somerset. An amour between his favourite and the Countess of Essex, a woman as eminent for the charms of her person as for the wantonness of her disposition, at length brought on his disgrace. Sir Thomas Overbury, who had been his best friend, and most faithful adviser, very strenuously opposed a marriage with this lady, who was the daughter of the Earl of Suffolk, and had been espoused to the young Lord Essex, now restored to his blood and dignity. Advice so repugnant to the inclinations of Somerset, drew down on the knight the resentment of the two lovers. The king, by false representations, was prevailed on to confine Sir Thomas Overbury in the Tower; and, whilst he there suffered all the rigours of imprisonment, the earl and the countess caused him to be poisoned. Some few years elapsed before this transaction reached the king's ears; but, on being informed of it, he delivered his favourite up to a public trial, by which he was found guilty, but received the royal pardon, in violation of a solemn oath which James had bound himself by, that the severity of the law should be inflicted, in

case Somerset was found guilty. But, though his life was spared, he ever continued in disgrace.

His next favourite obtained yet a greater ascendancy over this weak king; this was George Villiers, afterwards duke of Buckingham, whose personal beauty first drew the king's attention and regard. It may be reckoned among the most capricious circumstances of this reign, that a king who was bred a scholar, should choose, for his favourites, the most illiterate of his courtiers; that he, who trembled at a drawn sword, should lavish favours on one passionately fond of feats in arms, and adventurous enterprizes. Buckingham, having obtained a dukedom, was soon after invested with the order of the garter; he became, at the same time, master of the horse, chief justice in eyre, warden of the Cinque Ports, master of the King's Bench office, steward of Westminster, constable of Windsor Castle, and lord high admiral of England.

For five years James continued the dupe of the court of Spain. Though firmly resolved to contract no alliance with a heretic, the King of Spain had continued to procrastinate and invent one excuse after another, while he pretended to be very willing to conclude the match. At last the King of England, finding out what was really the matter, resolved to remove that obstacle if possible. He issued out public orders for discharging all Popish recusants, who were imprisoned; and it was daily apprehended that he would forbid, for the future, the execution of the penal laws against them. For this conduct he was obliged to apologize, and even pretend that it was done in order to procure from foreign princes a toleration for the Protestants; the severity of the English laws against Catholics, he said, having been urged as a reason against shewing any favour to Protestants residing in Catholic kingdoms.

These concessions in favour of the Catholics, however ill relished by his subjects, at last obtained James's
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end with regard to the marriage. The Earl of Bristol, ambassador at the court of Spain, a minister of vigilance and penetration, and who had formerly opposed the alliance with Catholics, being now fully convinced of the Spanish sincerity, was ready to congratulate the king on the completion of his projects. The Spanish princess is represented as very accomplished; she was to bring with her a fortune of six hundred thousand pounds; and, what was more, not only Bristol considered this match as an infallible prognostic of the palatine's restoration, but the Spaniards themselves did the same. All things being therefore agreed upon between the two parties, nothing was wanting but the dispensation from Rome, which might be considered as a matter of mere formality. The king exulted in his pacific counsels, and boasted of his superior sagacity and penetration; when all his flattering prospects were blasted by the temerity of the Duke of Buckingham, who governed both court and nation with almost unlimited sway. This nobleman, though possessed of some accomplishments of a courtier, was utterly devoid of every talent as a minister; but at once partook of the insolence which attends a fortune newly acquired, and the impetuosity which belongs to persons born in high stations, and unacquainted with opposition. Among those who had experienced the arrogance of this overgrown favourite, the Prince of Wales himself had not been entirely spared; and a great coldness, if not enmity, had for that reason taken place between them. Buckingham being desirous of putting an end to this coldness, and at the same time envious of the great reputation of the Earl of Bristol, persuaded the prince to undertake a journey to Madrid; which, he said, would be an unexpected gallantry; would equal all the fictions of Spanish romance; and, suiting the amorous and enterprizing character of that nation, must immediately introduce him to the princess under the agreeable character of a devoted lo-

ver and daring adventurer. Little persuasion was necessary to prevail with Prince Charles to undertake this journey; and the impetuosity of Buckingham having extorted a consent from James, our two adventurers set out, Prince Charles as the knight-errant, and Buckingham as the squire. They travelled through France in disguise, assuming the names of Jack and Tom Smith. They went to a ball at Paris, where the prince first saw the Princess Henrietta, whom he afterwards married, who was then in her bloom of youth and beauty, and with whom the novelists of that time say he then fell in love. On their arrival at Madrid, every body was surprised by a step so little usual among great princes. The Spanish monarch made Charles a visit, expressed the utmost gratitude for the confidence he reposed in him, and made warm protestations of a correspondent confidence and friendship. He gave him a golden key which opened all his apartments, that the prince might, without any introduction, have access to him at all hours; he took the left hand of him on every occasion, except in the apartments assigned to Charles; for there, he said, the prince was at home: Charles was introduced into the palace with the same pomp and ceremony which attends the Kings of Spain on their coronation: the council received public orders to obey him as the king himself: Olivarez too, the prime minister, though a grandee of Spain, who has the right of being covered before his own king, would not put on his hat in the prince's presence: all the prisons of Spain were thrown open, and all the prisoners received their freedom, as if an event the most honourable and most fortunate had happened to the monarchy; and every sumptuary law with regard to apparel was suspended during Prince Charles's residence in Spain. The infanta, however, was only shewn to her lover in public; the Spanish ideas of decency being so strict, as not to allow any farther intercourse till the arrival of the dispensation.

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The point of honour was carried so far by these generous people, that no attempt was made, on account of the advantage they had acquired by having the Prince of Wales in their power, to impose any harder conditions of treaty : their pious zeal only prompted them on one occasion to desire more concessions in the religious articles ; but, on the opposition of Bristol, they immediately desisted. The pope, however, hearing of Charles's arrival in Madrid, tacked some new clauses to the dispensation ; and it became necessary to transmit the articles to London, that the king might ratify them. This treaty, which was made public, consisted of several articles, chiefly regarding the exercise of the Catholic religion by the infant ; and, among these, nothing could reasonably be found fault with, except one article, in which the king promised that the children should be educated by the princess till they were ten years of age ; which undoubtedly was insisted upon with a view of seasoning their minds with Catholic principles. But, besides this public treaty, there were some private articles sworn to by James, which could not have been made public without grievous murmurs. A suspension of the penal laws against the English Catholics was promised, as likewise a repeal of them in parliament, and a toleration for the exercise of that religion in private houses. Meanwhile Gregory XV. who granted the dispensation, died ; and Urban VIII. was chosen in his place. Upon this event, the nuncio refused to deliver the dispensation till it should be renewed by Urban. This the crafty pontiff delayed, in hopes that, during the prince's residence in Spain, some expedient might be fallen upon to effect his conversion. The King of England, as well as the prince, became impatient : but, on the first hint, Charles obtained leave to return ; and Philip graced his departure with all the circumstances of civility and respect which had attended his arrival. He even erected a pillar on the spot where they took leave of each other,

other, as a monument of mutual friendship: and the prince, having sworn to the observance of all the articles, embarked on board the English fleet at St. Andero.

The modest, reserved, and decent, behaviour of Charles, together with his unparalleled confidence in them, and the romantic gallantry he had practised with regard to their princess, had endeared him to the whole court of Madrid. But in the same proportion that Charles was beloved and esteemed, was Buckingham despised and hated. His sallies of passion; his indecent freedoms with the prince; his dissolute pleasures; his arrogant impetuous temper, which he neither could nor would disguise; were to the Spaniards the objects of peculiar aversion. They lamented the infant's fate; who must be approached by a man whose temerity seemed to respect no laws divine or human. Buckingham, on the other hand, sensible how odious he was become to the Spaniards, and dreading the influence which that nation would naturally acquire after the arrival of the infant, resolved to employ all his credit in order to prevent the marriage. By what arguments he could prevail on the prince to offer such an insult to the Spanish nation, from whom he had received such generous treatment; by what colours disguise the ingratitude and imprudence of such a measure; these are totally unknown to us: certain it is, however, that, when the prince left Madrid, he was firmly determined, in opposition to his most solemn promises, to break off the treaty with Spain. On their arrival at London, therefore, the prince and Buckingham assumed the entire direction of the negotiation; and it was their business to seek for pretences by which they could give a colour to their intended breach of treaty. At last, after many fruitless artifices were employed to delay or prevent the espousals, Bristol received positive orders not to deliver the proxy which had been left in his hands, or to finish the marriage,
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till security was given for the full restitution of the palatinate. Philip understood this language: but being determined to throw the whole blame of the rupture on the English, he delivered into Bristol's hand a written promise, by which he bound himself to procure the restoration of the palatinate either by persuasion or by every other possible means; and, when he found that this concession gave no satisfaction, he ordered the infant to lay aside the title of Princess of Wales, which she bore after the arrival of the dispensation from Rome, and to drop the study of the English language; and, as he knew that such rash counsels as now governed the court of England would not stop at the breach of the marriage-treaty, he immediately ordered preparations for war to be made throughout all his dominions.

A match for Prince Charles was soon after negotiated with Henrietta, daughter of the great Henry IV. and this met with much better success than the former. However, the king had not the same allurements in prosecuting this match as the former, the portion promised him being much smaller; but, willing that his son should not be altogether disappointed of a bride, as the King of France demanded only the same terms as had been offered to the court of Spain, James thought proper to comply. In an article of this treaty of marriage, it was stipulated, that the education of the children till the age of thirteen should belong to the mother; and this probably gave that turn towards popery which has since proved the ruin of the unfortunate family of Stuart.

James now, being deprived of every other hope of relieving his son-in-law but by force of arms, declared war against Spain and the emperor, for the recovery of the palatinate; six thousand men were sent over into Holland to assist Prince Maurice in his schemes against those powers; the people were every where elated at the courage of their king, and were satisfied with any
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war which was to exterminate the Papists. This army was followed by another, consisting of twelve thousand men, commanded by Count Mansfeldt; and the court of France promised its assistance. But the English were disappointed in all their views: the troops being embarked at Dover, upon sailing to Calais, found no orders for their admission. After waiting for some time, they were obliged to sail towards Zealand, where no proper measures were yet consulted for their disembarkation. Mean while, a pestilential disorder crept in among them, so long cooped up in narrow vessels: half the army died while on-board; and the other half, weakened by sickness, appeared too small a body to march into the palatinate; and thus ended this ill-concerted and fruitless expedition. Whether this misfortune had any effect on the king's constitution or not, is uncertain; but he was soon after seized with a tertian ague, which put an end to his life on the 27th of March, 1625, after having lived fifty-nine years, and reigned over England twenty-two, and over Scotland almost as long as he had lived.

No prince, so little enterprizing and so inoffensive, was ever so much exposed to the opposite extremes of calumny and flattery, of satire and panegyric. And the factions which began in his time, being still continued, have made his character be as much disputed to this day, as is commonly that of princes who are our cotemporaries. Many virtues, however, it must be owned, he was possessed of; but not one of them pure, or free from the contagion of the neighbouring vices. His generosity bordered on profusion, his learning on pedantry, his pacific disposition on pusillanimity, his wisdom on cunning, his friendship on light fancy and boyish fondness. While he imagined that he was only maintaining his own authority, he may perhaps be suspected in some of his actions, and still more of his pretensions, to have encroached on the liberties of his people. While he endeavoured, by an

exact neutrality, to acquire the good will of all his neighbours, he was able to preserve fully the esteem and regard of none. His capacity was considerable, but fitter to discourse on general maxims than to conduct any intricate business. His intentions were just, but more adapted to the conduct of private life than to the government of kingdoms. Awkward in his person, and ungainly in his manners, he was ill qualified to command respect: partial and undiscerning in his affections, he was little fitted to acquire general love. Of a feeble temper more than a frugal judgment; exposed to our ridicule from his vanity, but exempt from our hatred by his freedom from pride and arrogance. And, upon the whole, it may be pronounced of his character, that all his qualities were sullied with weakness, and embellished by humanity. Political courage he was certainly devoid of; and from thence chiefly is derived the strong prejudice which prevails against his personal bravery: an inference, however, which must be owned, from general experience, to be extremely fallacious.

It is acknowledged by all historians, that trade increased much in this reign. The vigorous measures of the parliament heightened this circumstance, by freeing it from several monopolies, an imposition with which it had been much fettered by Elizabeth. A board of trade was first established by this king, to examine the efficacy of expedients which were proposed for the advancement of commerce. Agriculture received great improvement in this time, and the nation began to be more independent on foreign produce for their subsistence. James's yearly revenue was four hundred and fifty thousand pounds. The subsidies which were granted him by the commons and the clergy, money paid him by the states and the King of France, with the sums he raised by extraordinary and illegal methods, amounted in the whole to two million one hundred and ninety-three thousand three hundred

and seventy-four pounds; which divided into twenty-two equal portions, and added to his ordinary revenue, make an annual income of nearly five hundred and fifty thousand pounds, to which account of the revenue, may be added the tonnage and poundage; the produce of which has never yet been calculated; the increase of trade, and the exorbitant impositions which were laid on merchandize in this reign, made them very considerable.

By an act of parliament passed in this reign, the rate of legal interest for money was reduced from ten to eight per cent. per annum, which act concludes with this remarkable proviso: "No words in this law contained, shall be construed or expounded to allow the practice of usury in point of religion or conscience." Sir Thomas Culpeper was chiefly instrumental in procuring this law, which he foretold would produce many happy effects; to the king in the improving of his customs; to the landlord in the advancement of his rents, and value of his estate; to the merchant in the quickness of his trade, and benefit of his returns; and to the borrower in the ease of his condition. And Sir Josiah Child in his discourse on trade, first published in the year 1670, remarks, that in the year 1635, which was only ten years after making this law, there were more merchants to be found on the exchange of London, worth one thousand pounds and upwards each, than were before the year 1600 to be found worth one hundred pounds each. That, before and about the time of this reduction of interest, the current price of land was twelve years purchase, which soon after rose considerably higher. The word interest for the forbearance of money, was first used in this act, in its modern sense, although the word usury is there still applied, and used as synonymous.

The royal navy was increased in the reign of James I. almost double the number of Queen Elizabeth's own ships of war, viz. from thirteen to twenty-four
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men of war. The largest of Queen Elizabeth's ships at her death consisted of one thousand tons, carrying only three hundred and forty mariners, and forty cannon; and the smallest, of six hundred tons, carrying one hundred and fifty mariners, and thirty cannon; besides small vessels occasionally hired of private owners. In the five preceding years of 1623, King James built ten new ships, and expended fifty thousand pounds a year on the fleet, beside the value of thirty-six thousand pounds in timber, which he gave yearly from the royal forests. The king also, in 1610, built the largest and finest ship of war that ever England had before, carrying sixty-four cannon, and of fourteen hundred tons burthen, named the Prince. Thus, we may in part see, by what gradual steps the royal navy of England arrived at its present magnitude and grandeur. The London and Liverpool merchants also went on unrivalled in their Greenland fishery; insomuch, that the Dutch, excited by their success, sent out several ships the ensuing year, 1612, in the same pursuit; whereupon the English company's ships seized on the whale-oil of the Dutch, and on their fishing-tackle, implements, &c. and obliged them to return home with a menace, that, if ever they were found on those seas hereafter, they would make prizes of both ships and cargoes; their master, the King of Great Britain, having the sole right to that fishery, in virtue of the first discovery thereof. The next year this menace was literally fulfilled; for the English seized on, and brought home, every Dutch ship that attempted to fish there, and they were deemed legal prizes. The Merchant Adventurers company, those of the Staple, the Russia and the East India companies, all made astonishing progress in their different branches of commerce: insomuch, that in the year 1613, the money paid for exports and imports in London alone, amounted to one hundred and nine thousand five hundred and seventy-two pounds eighteen shillings and four-pence,

which was very near thrice as much as all the other ports of England paid for customs in the same year. So great and extensive a commerce,---so numerous a fleet of merchant ships, and ships of war,---such extensive settlements in every quarter of the globe,---with such an amazing supply of different manufactures at home, thrust into every corner of the earth where any traffic could be had,---and all this established in so short a time, became a subject of utter astonishment to the world, and gave an early proof of British courage, industry, and perseverance.

Early in this king's reign, a proclamation was issued prohibiting the use of tobacco. It sets forth, that "tobacco being a drug of late years found out, and brought from foreign parts in small quantities, was taken by the better sort for physic and to preserve health, but, through evil custom and the toleration thereof, is excessively taken by a number of riotous and disorderly persons: by which immoderate taking of tobacco, the health of a great number of the king's subjects is impaired, and their bodies weakened and made unfit for labour." To restrain the consumption of which, a heavy duty was laid on the importation thereof, being six shillings and eight-pence on every pound weight, besides the duty of two-pence before laid on it. This impost was laid without the concurrence of parliament, but by virtue of the royal prerogative.

The city and suburbs of London daily increasing, and with them also additional dangers from fire; and water in sufficient quantities becoming more difficult to be had, notwithstanding the many springs brought in leaden pipes from different places; an act was passed in the third year of King James I. cap. 28. A. D. 1605, "for bringing a fresh stream of running water to the north parts of London, from the springs of Chadwell and Anwell, in the county of Hertford; and for investing power in the lord mayor and commonalty of London, for carrying the same into effect." In consequence

sequence whereof, the said New River was, in three years time, viz. in 1609, brought into the head or reservoir at Clerkenwell, near Islington, and from thence conveyed into all parts of the city and suburbs, in leaden pipes. The projector and manager of this great undertaking was Mr. Hugh Middleton, citizen and goldsmith, who was thereupon knighted by King James. This undertaking, in some sense, demonstrates the great increase of the wealth of London by commerce, which enabled it to undertake so expensive and arduous a work,---a work suitable to the power and grandeur of ancient Rome in its zenith of glory. The proprietors of this New River were afterwards incorporated, and the whole is divided into shares, which are saleable and transferable, to very good advantage.

From henceforward, not only trade and commerce, but every species of domestic convenience and national advantage, was wisely and liberally promoted in London. At this time the Levant or Turkey company were incorporated by a perpetual charter, by the designation of the merchants of England trading to the Levant seas. Thus a most profitable commerce to England was established, by which great quantities of our woollen manufactures, and much other merchandise, as watches, jewels, trinkets, cutlery, &c. have been annually exported, to a very considerable amount. The manufacture of allum was also at this time, viz. in 1608, first invented, and successfully practised in England, under the patronage of James I. by Lord Sheffield and Sir John Bourcher, who opened manufactories of this article in Yorkshire, and warehouses in London, which were greatly encouraged by government.

In the year 1606, a colony was settled in the southern parts of Virginia, the merchants of London, Bristol, Exeter, and Plymouth, having jointly obtained from the king a charter for that purpose.

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In the year 1607, Captain Henry Hudson sailed as far north as eighty degrees and a half, in search of a north-west passage; but returned without effecting his purpose. The effeminating luxuries of the east seemed to be denied to the hardy inhabitants of Europe, on any other terms than those of making a long and laborious circuit to acquire them. A shorter passage thither has ever been the wish of mankind, but, like many other human wishes, would be a baneful acquisition. This voyage, however, produced a more beneficial discovery, by lighting on the bay to which he gave his name. The next year he renewed the attempt by a north-eastern route, to as little purpose. Not discouraged however by these repeated disappointments, he made a third voyage towards Nova Zembla, in which, after having had a sight of the North Cape of Finmark, he sailed to Newfoundland, Cape Cod, and Virginia. On the American coast he gave his own name to a river, by which it is still described. He is said to have made a formal surrender of lands lying on that river, which are now a part of New England, to some Hollanders, who made great progress in planting and improving it. They named the country New Netherlands, and built there the city of New Amsterdam, since called New York. They likewise built the fort of Orange, about one hundred and fifty miles up Hudson's River, since named the city of Albany. Whatever transfer was made by Hudson of these lands, it was not a valid one, as it was conveying away a part of the king's dominions to a foreign nation, without the participation of the crown and kingdom.

What was then called North Virginia, but now bears the name of New England, now began to receive a settlement. The first colony, which was weak and ill directed, did not succeed; and for some time after there were only few adventurers, who came over occasionally during the summer, built themselves temporary huts for the sake of trading with the savages,
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and, like them, disappeared again for the rest of the year.

The English, about this time, discovered and settled the Island of Barbadoes. Mr. Anderson calls it the mother of all our West-India sugar-islands, and the chief of the Caribbees. This island has proved of great consequence to the kingdom by its excellent productions. It is the most easterly of all the Leeward Islands, and appeared never to have been inhabited, not even by savages, when the English first landed upon it. They found it overspread with such large and hard timber trees, that it required uncommon resolution and perseverance to fell them, and grub them up; but when this task was, in some measure, accomplished, the inhabitants began to taste the sweets of their labours, by cultivating a grateful soil.

In the year 1612, the Bermuda or Summer Islands were first settled by a colony from England. These are cluster of small and very rocky islands, situated five hundred miles directly east from Carolina; they had been discovered near a century before, by one Bermuda, a Spaniard. In 1609, Sir George Somers and Sir Thomas Gates were shipwrecked on these islands, in their voyage to America. From the first of whom they were called Somers Islands, which was changed to Summer Islands; but the first name of Bermuda is more frequently used. These islands produce very few commodities for exportation.

About the year 1619 the English company trading to the East Indies obtained leave of the King of Golconda to settle at Madras-patan, on the coast of Coromandel, where they built a fort, which they named St. George, which remains to this day the emporium for the company's trade to all parts east of Cape Comorin. Fort St. George, however, is far from being a happy situation, being situated on a barren soil, and a tempestuous shore, having no kind of harbour, nor even a convenient landing-place for boats; besides which, no
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fresh water is to be had nearer than a mile. Notwithstanding, these local disadvantages are counterbalanced by its being advantageously situated for the trade in diamonds, muslins, chints, &c. and in disposing of the European merchandize most vendible there, such as stockings, haberdashery, gold and silver lace, looking-glasses, drinking-glasses, lead, wine, cyder, cheese, hats, stuffs, ribbons, &c.

Spain not being able of itself to crush the Algerines, who at this time were formidable in shipping, and greatly infested the Spanish coasts, after four different expeditions against that city, Count Gondemar, ambassador from Spain to King James, found means to make that monarch the instrument of his master's revenge. Having gained the Duke of Buckingham to second his views, they united in representing to him the mighty glory which would be derived from such a conquest, and the benefits which the taking of that nest of pirates would bring to the commerce of England. Sir Robert Mansel was therefore sent out with six men of war, and twelve stout ships hired from the merchants. On the 27th of November 1620, they came to an anchor in Algiers Road, and saluted the town without receiving a single gun in answer; however, a negociation ensued, in which it is hard to say whether the Turks or the admiral acted with the greater chicanery. The Turks at last promised to give the admiral satisfaction to his demands; upon which he sailed to the Spanish coast, attended with six French men of war: the admiral of this squadron struck to the English fleet upon the first joining of it, which seems to have been the greatest honour, and perhaps the greatest advantage, that attended this whole expedition. It had been well if the enterprize had ended thus, but, after receiving a supply of provisions from England, it was resolved to make another attempt upon Algiers in the spring, and, if possible, to burn the ships in the mole. Accordingly, in the month of May, the fleet
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left the coast of Majorca, and, on the 21st of the same month, anchored before Algiers, and began to prepare for the execution of this design. Two ships taken from the Turks, and three brigantines, were prepared for the purpose, and seven armed boats followed to sustain them, in case they were pursued at their coming off. These were likewise furnished with fire-works to destroy the ships without the mole. On the 24th, the ships advanced with a brisk gale towards the mole, but, when they were within less than a musket shot of the mole's head, the wind died away, and it grew so calm they could not enter. However, the boats and brigantines finding they were discovered by the brightness of the moon, which was then at full, and being informed by a Christian slave, who swam from the town, that the Turks had left their ships unguarded, they resolved to proceed; which they did, but performed little or nothing, and then retired with the loss of six men. After a day or two's stay, they put to sea, and in the month of June returned to England. Two other fleets were afterwards sent against them, one under Lord Willoughby, the other under Lord Denbigh; both of which did so little, that very few of our historians take any notice of them. Sir William Monson remarks on this expedition, that if those Christian countries which lie opposite to Algiers could never prevail in their attempts against it, notwithstanding their superior advantages in embarking and transporting an army suddenly, and without spreading an alarm, what hopes has England to prevail, whose designs must be known before they can be executed? Such warning given would be sufficient for a garrisoned town, of less force, and fewer men, than Algiers, to prevent a surprize.---Experience has, however, in our days, rendered us wiser, and we now are sensible of the substantial benefits derived in our commerce from being at peace with the Barbary States, whilst they make depredations on other nations: and our ac-

quisition of Gibraltar, and the naval force kept there; will probably be ever sufficient to keep those of Algiers, Sallee, Tunis, and Tripoli, in constant awe of us.

CHARLES I. ascended the throne amidst the highest praises and caresses of his subjects for what was perhaps the most blame-worthy action of his life, namely; his breaking off the match with the Spanish princess, and procuring the rupture with the house of Austria. Being young and unexperienced, he regarded these praises as sincere; and therefore was so impatient to assemble the great council of the nation, that he would gladly, for the sake of dispatch, have called together the same parliament which sat under his father, and which lay at that time under prorogation. But, being told that such a measure would appear unusual, he issued writs for summoning a new parliament on the 7th of May; and it was not without regret that the arrival of the Princess Henrietta, whom he had espoused by proxy, obliged him to delay, by repeated prorogations, their meeting till the 18th of June, when they assembled at Westminster for the dispatch of business.

In the month of June 1625, Buckingham went to attend the princess with the royal navy, and brought her to Dover, from whence she proceeded to Canterbury, where the marriage was consummated. A few days after the king, with the queen, entered London privately, the plague at that time raging in the suburbs.

The parliament, which had been summoned to meet at Oxford, were far from testifying that affection for their sovereign, which a young king generally receives on the first commencement of his reign. Nor would Charles perhaps have been destitute of such implicit popularity, but for a measure which gave general disgust.

The Marquis d'Effiat, ambassador from France to his father, had drawn from James a promise to furnish
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the king, his master, with a ship of war, and seven armed merchantmen, to be employed against the Genoese, who, being firm and useful allies to the Spanish monarchy, were considered as enemies by the Kings of England and France. Buckingham, who was at this time warmly attached to the court of France, prevailed on Charles to lend these ships. When they arrived at Dieppe, there arose a strong suspicion that they were to serve against Rochelle, a town at that time possessed by the Hugonots, and exempt from the jurisdiction of the French monarch; and in this expedition the Duke de Montmorency was to take the command. Vice-admiral Pennington, who commanded this squadron, had received particular orders from the lord high admiral; but these he did not choose to interpret to mean the delivery of the ships for the purpose they were now found to be destined. The English sailors were highly incensed, and drew up a remonstrance to their commander, in which all their names were signed in a circle, that no one should be singled out as the ringleader. Pennington hereupon declared, that he had rather be hanged in England for disobeying orders, than fight against his Protestant brethren, and immediately sailed back to the Downs. The Rochellers were alarmed, and sent over to England agents to solicit the detention of his squadron; notwithstanding which, express orders were given Pennington to deliver up the fleet to the French. As Buckingham knew the general reluctance which prevailed, he caused it to be confidently reported, that a peace was concluded between the court of France and the Hugonots. In the month of August, Pennington sailed a second time for Dieppe, where, according to his instructions, the merchant ships were delivered to the French. No sooner did it appear that they had been deceived, than Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who commanded the king's ship, which was called the Great Neptune, weighed anchor, and put to sea; and, so-

firmlly united were all the officers and seamen on-board the other ships, that notwithstanding the great offers made them by the French, they immediately departed, and returned to England, one gunner alone excepted, and he was afterwards killed in charging a cannon before Rochelle. The ships remained with the French, and were actually employed against the Rochellers. This affair made a great clamour in the nation, and afterwards formed an article of impeachment against Buckingham.

One of the first acts of the new king was to renew his late father's commission to twelve commissioners of the navy. These seem to have been mostly stationed, as at present, into distinct branches, such as a comptroller, a surveyor, a clerk of the navy, &c. This board, as at present, was to be subordinate to the lord high admiral, or the admiralty board, from whom these commissioners received directions and orders in maritime affairs.

Charles inherited from his father great distress for money, very high notions of the royal prerogative, and a violent attachment to episcopacy. As to his character, he seems to have been obstinate, though not resolute; and therefore, though it was scarcely ever possible to make him give up his point, he never could carry on his designs with that spirit which was necessary for their success. In other respects, he appears to have possessed every virtue requisite to constitute the character of a good man.

On coming to the crown, he found an exhausted Exchequer, and a heavy debt incurred by his father, which his own discretion and parsimony were not likely to remove: he was, therefore, obliged, from time to time, to borrow money on the security of the public revenues, which method of anticipation had been adopted by his father to remove a present exigence, and increasing the mischief in futurity. Though the king was impatient to meet his parliament, yet a misunderstanding

understanding instantly arose between them, which plunged him in great difficulties to carry on the war against Spain: he, therefore, granted a special warrant to the Duke of Buckingham, to borrow three hundred thousand pounds sterling of the States-general of the United Netherlands, or of their subjects, upon the pawn or pledge of a number of very rich crown jewels, and vessels of gold adorned with precious stones, which were delivered out of the jewel-house.

Towards the close of the summer, a fleet of eighty ships, some of which were contributed by the Dutch; on-board of which were ten regiments of soldiers, were got ready at Plymouth. The king appointed Buckingham commander in chief; but when all things were ready, and the fleet on the point of sailing, the duke declined the command, and appointed Sir Edward Cecil, grandson to the great Lord Burleigh, in his stead. Cecil had distinguished himself as a soldier, but was very unfit to take a command at sea. The Earls of Essex and Denbigh were appointed his vice and rear admirals. To qualify him to command men of such rank, Cecil was created baron of Putney, and viscount Wimbledon, and was appointed lord-marshal. "It was thought strange," says Dr. Campbell, "that though there wanted not many able seamen, such as Sir Robert Mansell, Sir William Monson, and others, yet none of them were entrusted, but in their stead such as were in the duke's favour." Had this formidable armament been properly directed, the expedition might have terminated gloriously. The Spanish Plate-fleet was then returning home with above a million sterling on-board, and might have been intercepted when making for the Azores, which would have been so effectual a blow at the naval strength of Spain, as must have required many years to have recovered. But much time was lost before the fleet sailed: and at last it put to sea without any regular plan of operations being concerted, and under the direction

rection of men little qualified for such an important trust. On the 7th of October the fleet sailed from Plymouth, but, when it had got some leagues to sea, it was separated by a storm, so that the ships were many days before they got together at their appointed rendezvous off Cape St. Vincent. On the 19th of October, it was resolved in a council to attack Cadiz, which they accordingly did on the 22d of the same month. Lord Essex stood into the bay, where he found seventeen good ships riding under the town, and eight or ten galleys; these he bravely attacked, but, for want of proper orders and due assistance, the Spanish ships were suffered to retire to Port-Real, where Cecil did not think fit to follow them. Then some thousands of soldiers were landed, and the fort of Puntall was taken; after which they proceeded to make some attempts upon the town. The soldiers unfortunately becoming masters of too much wine, got excessively drunk, and became so careless, that if the enemy had known, or had been vigilant enough to have taken this advantage, few of them had returned home. The fright into which this had put the officers, engaged them to re-embark their forces; and then it was agreed to cruize off Cape St. Vincent for the flota; there the men grew sickly, and, by distributing the sick among the ships, the whole fleet was infected, and to such a degree, as scarcely left them hands sufficient to bring it home. This, however, they performed in December, having done little hurt to the enemy, and acquired less honour to themselves; all which was foretold before the fleet left England.

On their return a charge was exhibited against the general, by the Earl of Essex, and nine other officers of distinction: Lord Wimbleton justified himself in a long answer to their charge. Both pieces are yet remaining, and serve only to demonstrate, that want of experience and unanimity proved the ruin of this expedition. Both the officers charge, and Lord Wimbleton's

ton's answer, are printed in Lediard's Naval History. The reader, who shall compare these with Sir William Monson's reflections on this lord's conduct, will discern, that he is hardly and unjustly treated. Sir William arraigns him for calling councils, when he should have been acting; the officers accuse him for not calling councils, but acting of his own head. The truth seems to be, he had no notion of a sea command, and his officers no inclination to obey him.

Charles, having dissolved his parliament a second time, June 15, 1626, and having thus made such a breach with them as there were no hopes of repairing, was obliged to have recourse to the exercise of every branch of his prerogative in order to supply himself with money. A commission was openly granted to compound with the catholics, and agree for dispensing with the penal laws enacted against them; and by this expedient the king, indeed, filled his coffers, but gave universal disgust to his subjects. From the nobility he desired assistance: from the city he required a loan of one hundred thousand pounds. The former contributed slowly: but the latter, covering themselves under many pretences and excuses, gave at last a flat denial. In order to equip a fleet, a distribution by order of the council was made to all the maritime towns: and each of them was required, with the assistance of the adjacent counties, to arm as many vessels as were appointed them. The city of London was rated at twenty ships: and this is the first appearance, in Charles's reign, of ship-money; a taxation which had once been imposed by Elizabeth, but which, when carried some steps farther by Charles, produced the most violent discontents.

As the war with Spain was chiefly of the Duke of Buckingham's procuring, so now he plunged the king into a war with France. The French laid siege to Rochelle: the Rochellers applied to King Charles, who sent the Earl of Denbigh to their relief, with a fleet of
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thirty sail; but, the season being far advanced, his lordship found it impracticable to execute his commission; and, after continuing at sea some time in hard weather, returned into port. Upon this the Rochellers began to suspect the king's sincerity, whether he intended to assist them or not. The Duke of Buckingham, to put the thing out of dispute, caused a great fleet to be drawn together the next year, and an army of seven thousand men to be put on-board it, resolving to go himself as admiral and commander in chief. He sailed from Portsmouth the 27th of June, and landed on the Island of Rhee. The duke landed his troops on the last of July, not without strong opposition from the French governor, whom he forced to retire, though with some loss. Upon this occasion the English fell into the same errors in conduct, which they had committed in the Cadiz expedition. The fort of La Pré, which covered the landing-place, they neglected; though the French themselves in their fright had slighted, so that it might have been taken without any trouble; and was a place of so great consequence, that if it had been in the hands of the English it would have prevented the French from introducing supplies. The French court was at first exceedingly alarmed; but their terrors quickly wore away, when they found the duke had no great capacity as a commander, and too much pride to take advice. The town of St. Martin's was quickly taken by the English; and the duke then invested the citadel, but gave evident proofs of his want of military skill in managing the siege. At first he quartered his troops without entrenching, which at last, however, he was glad to do; then he entered into conferences with the governor, and, refusing to communicate the substance of them to his officers, discouraged his own people, and enabled the French to deceive him by a sham treaty, during which the fort received a supply. The expectation of succours from England, with some other reasons, engaged Bucking-
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ham to remain so long in camp, that his troops were much diminished. At length, on the 6th of November, he made a general assault; when it appeared the place was inaccessible, at least to forces under such circumstances as his were. Two days after he resolved upon a retreat, which was as ill conducted as the rest of the expedition. It was made in the sight of an enemy as strong in foot, and more numerous in horse, than themselves, over a narrow causeway, with salt-pits on each side; yet there was no precaution taken by erecting a fort, or throwing up any entrenchment to cover the entrance of the passage; by which the army was so much exposed, that numbers of brave men were killed: the best accounts now extant say, fifty officers, two thousand soldiers, and thirty-five volunteers of note. With equal shame and loss, therefore, the duke concluded this expedition, embarking his forces on the 9th of the same month, and sending the poor Rochellers a promise, that he would come again to their relief; which, however, he did not live to perform.

The next year a naval force was prepared to make good what the Duke of Buckingham had promised the inhabitants of Rochelle. Lord Denbigh, brother-in-law to Buckingham, was sent with a fleet, consisting of ten ships of the line, and sixty smaller vessels, to succour the besieged, with a recruit of men and provisions. On the first of May 1628, the English fleet anchored at Charleboy, in the road of Rochelle; and on the eighth a shallop, by means of a high tide and a strong favourable wind, got safe into the harbour and carried the news of their arrival. Immediately the inhabitants erected signals on the tops of their towers, and discharged their cannons, to shew that they were ready to favour, by a diversion, the entrance of the destined succours. But, after an ineffectual attempt to pass a bar which the French had made to prevent the passage of the English ships, a council of war was called, in which the majority of the English captains gave it as

their opinion, that the Rochellers had deceived them in their account of the facility of the enterprize: but the vice-admiral, and another officer named Car, exclaimed against the backwardness of the rest; and the French Protestants in the fleet, whose whole force consisted only of twenty-two or twenty-three small vessels, offered, with the assistance of four merchant ships well armed, and three fire-ships, to throw succours into the place; and agreed to pay for all the English ships that might miscarry in the attempt. Denbigh excused himself, by pretending that it was impracticable; and by insisting on the words of his commission, which were not to fight unless first attacked by the enemy: and, notwithstanding the tears and prayers of the deputies from Rochelle, he refused to give any relief to that distressed town; and, setting sail, returned to England. Thus, by a complication of treachery, ignorance, and cowardice, the expedition was rendered abortive.

In order to repair this dishonour, Buckingham went to Portsmouth, with a resolution to appear once more in a military capacity; and, on the vast preparations made for this expedition, it is said, that all the subsidies given by parliament had been expended. But, on the 23d of August 1628, while the duke was at Portsmouth, and talking with warmth to the Duke of Soubize, and other French officers, on his inclining his head to give directions to Sir Thomas Fryer, he received a mortal wound from an unseen hand, which struck a knife into his heart; and, crying "The villain has killed me!" withdrew the fatal instrument, fell prostrate on the ground, and instantly expired.

No man had seen the blow, nor the person who gave it; but, in the confusion, every one made his own conjecture, and all agreed, that it was done by one of the French gentlemen, whose angry tone of voice had been heard, while their words were not understood. In the hurry of revenge, the duke's attendants

ants instantly drew their swords, and prepared to massacre the foreigners, but were stopped by some of more temper and judgment; who, though they had the same opinion of their guilt, thought proper to reserve them for a judicial trial. In the midst of this confusion, a hat was found near the door, in the inside of which was sewed a piece of paper, containing four or five lines of that remonstrance of the commons, which declared Buckingham an enemy to the kingdom; and under these lines was a short ejaculation. It was concluded, that the owner of the hat must be the murderer; but the difficulty still remained of knowing who that person was; and it was natural to believe, that he had already fled too far to be found without a hat. While they were in this perplexity, a man without a hat was seen walking very composedly before the door; on which one cried, "Here is the fellow who killed the duke!" Every body ran, asking, Which is he? The man, presenting himself, said, "I am the person who committed the action; let not the innocent suffer." Upon this the more furious immediately rushed upon him with drawn swords: others, more deliberate, defended and protected him; while he himself, with open arms, calmly and cheerfully exposed his breast to the most enraged. This assassin proved to be John Felton, a man who was brave, honest, and conscientious, but a melancholy and revengeful enthusiast. He had served as a lieutenant under Buckingham, in his expedition to the Isle of Rhee, and had entertained a personal aversion to him for his having promoted an officer over his head. The loud complaints of the nation, coinciding with his private resentment, inflamed his melancholy to a kind of phrenzy; and his enthusiasm prompted him to render himself an instrument of justice on the declared enemy of his country.

Thus fell George Villiers duke of Buckingham, when only thirty-five years of age, the object of almost

universal hatred. "A man," says Mrs. Macaulay, "of memorable insufficiency, as a statesman and a soldier; and who, with no other eminent qualities than what were proper to captivate the heart of the weakest part of the female sex, had been raised by these qualities to be the scourge of three kingdoms; and, by his pestilent intrigues, the chief cause of that distress which the French Protestants at this time languished under: a man whose extraordinary influence over two successive princes, will serve, among other examples of this kind, as an everlasting monument of the contemptible government this magnanimous nation must submit to, who groan under the mean, though oppressive, yoke of an arbitrary sway, entrusted to the caprice of individuals. The expensive parade of the courtiers, and the glitter which surrounded the minions of royalty, can be by no single example so fully illustrated as by the account of Buckingham's body ornaments: the jewels he left behind him were estimated at three hundred thousand pounds: a sum, which, at the interest money then bore, would have brought in an income of twenty-four thousand pounds a year."

Charles was within four miles of Portsmouth when he was informed of his favourite's death, while he was upon his knees at prayers; no discomposure appeared in his actions, nor alteration in his countenance, till the service was over; when he retired to his chamber, and threw himself on his bed, where he gave vent to his sorrow in a flood of tears and passionate expressions of regard to the memory of the deceased. His behaviour, afterwards, convinced the public, that he retained the same affection for his memory which he had shewn to his person; for he continued to heap favours not only on all his relations, but on those dependants who had attached themselves to his fortune, and paid a vast debt which he had contracted.

Felton was brought to his trial on the twenty-seventh of November, when the unhappy enthusiast

felt such exquisite remorse for his crime, that, on his receiving sentence of death, he offered that hand to be cut off, which committed the fact. Though the court refused his request, as being not within the compass of the law, Charles sent to intimate his desire to the judges, that Felton's hand might be cut off before he suffered death: but the judges answered, that the king's will could not be complied with, for in all murders the judgment was the same, unless when the statute of the 25th of Edward III. altered the nature of the offence.

On the death of the Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Lindsey was appointed admiral of the fleet destined for the relief of Rochelle; Moreton and Mountjoy, vice and rear admirals. On the eighth of September, 1628, the fleet sailed for Rochelle: on their arrival, it was found that the French had cast a mole across the harbour, which blocked up the entrance of the port, and rendered the relief of the town very difficult, if not impracticable. Two days were spent in cannonading the works, without damage on either side; and the Duke of Soubize, who was at the head of the Hugonot party, and then on-board the fleet, began to suspect that the English commander, who had sent several private messages into the French camp, was treating separately with the enemy. On receiving intelligence that the town could not hold out above two days, he offered with the French ships to attempt the mole, if the English would engage to follow him. The Count of Leval proposed, with artificial mines, contrived in three ships lined with bricks, to attempt to blow it up. Both these proposals were rejected in a council of war, and more time consumed in fruitless cannonading. The English captains in the fleet, who had been all of Buckingham's nomination, and who had hitherto refused to assent to any effectual method of combating the obstacles that prevented the throwing in relief to the town, at length determined

in a council of war to make one decisive attack; but, before this could be put in execution, Rochelle was obliged to capitulate. The very night after the city was given up, the sea made such a breach as would have opened an entrance for the largest ship in the English fleet.

The disgraceful expedition to Rochelle finished the operation of the war with France, the failure of which was strongly suspected to have been owing to the influence which the queen had in the English cabinet.

Whilst the war with France continued, Sir David Kirk, who had settled in the southern coasts of the great river St. Lawrence, at the head of a colony of Scots, attacked the French in their infant settlements in Canada: these they subdued, together with the castle of Quebec. The same year they conquered Nova Scotia, which the French had wrested from Sir William Alexander, the first possessor. On the settlement of the terms of treaty of St. Germaine in Laye, in 1632, the French agreed to acknowledge the right of Great Britain to all Nova Scotia; and, it is said, they agreed to pay Sir David Kirk fifty thousand pounds for quitting the forts which he had possessed himself of in Canada; which sum, however, was never paid.

The discontents in England now rose to such an height, that there was reason to apprehend an insurrection or rebellion. Charles was also reduced to the greatest distress for want of money. That which he had levied by virtue of his prerogative came in very slowly, and it was dangerous to renew the experiment on account of the ill humour of the nation in general. A third parliament therefore was called, March 17th 1628; whom Charles plainly told at the beginning of the session, "that if they should not do their duties, in contributing to the necessities of the state, he must, in discharge of his conscience, use those other means which God had put into his hands, in order to save that which the follies of some particular men might otherwise

otherwise put in danger." This parliament behaved in a much more reasonable manner than either of the two former ones. They began with voting against arbitrary imprisonments and forced loans; after which, five subsidies (two hundred and eighty thousand pounds) were voted to the king. With this sum, though much inferior to his wants, Charles declared himself well satisfied; and even tears of affection started in his eye when informed of this concession: the commons, however, resolved not to pass this vote into a law, before they had obtained from the king a sufficient security that their liberties should be no longer violated as they had formerly been. They resolved to frame a law, which they were to call A Petition of Right, in which they should collect all the arbitrary exertions of the prerogative which Charles had exposed to their view, and these they were to assault at once by their petition. The grievances now complained of were, forced loans, benevolences, taxes without consent of parliament, arbitrary imprisonments, billeting soldiers, and martial law. They pretended not, as they affirmed, to any unusual power or privileges; nor did they intend to infringe the royal prerogative in any respect: they aimed only at securing those rights and privileges derived from their ancestors.

The king, on his part, now began plainly to shew, that he aimed at nothing less than absolute power. This reasonable petition he did his utmost to evade, by repeated messages to the house, in which he always offered his royal word that there should be no more infringements on the liberty of the subject. These messages, however, had no effect on the commons: they knew how insufficient such promises were, without further security; and therefore the petition at last passed both houses, and nothing was wanting but the royal assent to give it the force of a law. The king accordingly came to the house of peers, sent for the commons, and, being seated in the chair of state, the
petition

petition was read to him. In answer to it, he said, "The king willeth, that right be done according to the laws and customs of the realm, and that the statutes be put into execution; that his subjects may have no cause to complain of any wrong or oppression contrary to their just rights and liberties, to the preservation whereof he holds himself in conscience as much obliged as of his own prerogative." This equivocal answer was highly resented. The commons returned in very ill humour. Their indignation would undoubtedly have fallen on the unfortunate Catholics, had not their petition against them already received a satisfactory answer. To give vent to their present wrath, therefore, they fell on Dr. Manwaring, who had preached a sermon, and, at the special command of the king, printed it; which was now found to contain doctrines subversive of all civil liberty. It taught, that, though property was commonly lodged in the subject, yet, whenever any exigency required supply, all property was transferred to the sovereign; that the consent of parliament was not necessary for the imposition of taxes; and that the divine laws required compliance with every demand, however irregular, which the prince should make upon his subjects. For these doctrines Manwaring was sentenced to be imprisoned during the pleasure of the house; to be fined one thousand pounds to the king; make submission and acknowledgment for his offence; be suspended three years; be incapable of holding any ecclesiastical dignity or secular office; and that his book be called in and burnt. No sooner, however, was the session ended, than Manwaring received a pardon, and was promoted to a living of considerable value. Some years afterwards he was promoted to the see of St. Asaph. At last, the king, seeing it was impossible to carry his point, yielded to the importunities of parliament. He came to the house of peers, and pronouncing the usual form of words, "Let it be law as is desired," gave full

full sanction and authority to the petition. The house resounded with acclamations, and the bill for five subsidies immediately passed.

In 1629, the usual contentions between the king and his parliament continued. The great article on which the commons broke with their sovereign, and which finally created in him a disgust at all parliaments, was their claims with regard to tonnage and poundage. The dispute was, whether this tax could be levied without consent of parliament or not. Charles, supported by multitudes of precedents, maintained that it might; and the parliament, in consequence of their petition of right, asserted that it could not. The commons were resolved to support their rights: and the disputes concerning tonnage and poundage went hand in hand with some theological controversies; particularly concerning Arminianism, which the Puritans, who now formed the majority of the nation, opposed with the greatest violence; and which consequently crept in among those who professed episcopacy, where it hath still maintained its ground more than in any other party. The commons began with summoning before them the officers of the custom-house, to give an account by what authority they had seized the goods of those merchants who had refused to pay the duties of tonnage and poundage. The barons of exchequer were questioned with regard to their decrees on that head. The sheriff of London was committed to the Tower for his activity in supporting the officers of the custom-house. The goods of Rolles, a merchant, and member of the house, being seized for his refusal to pay the duties, complaints were made of this violence, as if it were a breach of privilege. Charles, on the other hand, supported his officers in all these measures, and the quarrel between him and the commons became every day higher. Sir John Elliot framed a remonstrance against tonnage and poundage, which he offered to the clerk to read; but it was re-

fused, and he then read it himself. The question being called for, Sir John Finch the speaker said, that he had a command from the king to adjourn, and to put no question; upon which he rose and left the chair. The whole house was in an uproar; the speaker was pushed back into the chair, and forcibly held in it, till a short remonstrance was formed, which was instantaneously passed by almost universal acclamation. Papists and Arminians were now declared capital enemies to the commonwealth. Those who levied tonnage and poundage were branded with the same epithet. And even the merchants, who should voluntarily pay these duties, were declared betrayers of English liberty, and public enemies. The doors being locked, the gentleman-usher of the house of lords, who was sent by the king, could not get admittance till this remonstrance was finished. By the king's order he took the mace from the table, which put an end to their proceedings; and on 10th of March the parliament was dissolved. Some of the members were imprisoned and fined; but this severity served only to increase the general discontent, and to point out the sufferers as proper leaders for the popular party.

Charles, being now disgusted with parliaments, resolved to call no more; but, finding himself destitute of resources, was obliged to make peace with the two powers with which he was at war. A treaty was signed with France on the 14th of April, and another with Spain on the 5th of November, 1630, by which Charles bound himself to observe a neutrality with regard to the affairs on the continent. The treaty with France was signed at St. Germaine en Laye, whereby was shamefully confirmed the giving up to that power the countries of La Cadie (Acadia) and of Canada. All the disputes we have since had with France concerning North America originated from this treaty, the English cabinet being therein miserably out-witted by Richlieu's superior dexterity. It is true, the country

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ceded

ceded to France by this treaty was not then esteemed of the importance which after-times have shewn it to be; yet it was obvious to discern even then, that, in proportion as the French colonies increased in population and commerce, these places would be of the utmost consequence to France, and very dangerous to England. Hereby Port Royal and Cape Breton were given up, the possession of which furnished France with a fair pretext for settling on the south side of the river St. Lawrence, and thence gradually laying claim to all that part of Nova Scotia which borders on New England: on the contrary, sound policy required, that the French should be confined to their original settlements on the north and north-west sides of the great river St. Lawrence.

The principles which exalted prerogative were put in practice during the whole time that Charles ruled without parliaments. He wanted money for the support of government; and he levied it, either by the revival of obsolete laws, or by violations of the privileges. Though humane and gentle in his nature, he gave way to severities in the star-chamber and high commission, which seemed necessary in order to support the present mode of administration, and suppress the rising spirit of liberty throughout the kingdom. Tonnage and poundage were continued to be levied by the royal authority alone. The former arbitrary impositions were still exacted; and even new duties were laid upon different kinds of merchandize. The custom-house officers received orders from the council to enter into any house, warehouse, or cellar; to search any trunk or chest; and to break any bulk whatever, in default of the payment of customs. In order to exercise the militia, each county by an edict of the council was assessed in a certain sum for maintaining a muster-master appointed for that service. Compositions were openly made with recusants, and the Popish religion became a regular part of the revenue. A com-

mission was granted for compounding with such as were possessed of crown-lands on defective titles; and on this pretence some money was exacted from the people, &c.

The power of archbishop Laud growing grievous to the Puritans, he being very severe in his proceedings against them, many of them began to think of taking refuge in foreign plantations; and such numbers of families actually transported themselves, that the government at length, taking umbrage at it, published a proclamation, to restrain the disorderly transporting his majesty's subjects to the plantations in America, without a royal licence. Mr. Oliver Cromwell, together with Sir Matthew Boynton, Sir William Constable, Sir Arthur Haslerigg, Mr. John Hampden, and several other gentlemen, were preparing to remove themselves, and were actually embarked for that purpose; but were prevented by the said proclamation, and the following order of council: "That the Lord-treasurer of England should take speedy and effectual course for the stay of eight ships now in the river of Thames prepared to go for New England, and should likewise give order for the putting on land all the passengers and provisions therein intended for the voyage." And thus Cromwell's voyage to New England was prevented, that Cromwell whom we shall soon see act so conspicuous a part.

In the year 1637, while the law itself was rendered the instrument of despotism, one man, who had before suffered imprisonment, rather than consent to an illegal loan, again stood forth, and combated the new state-monster, ship-money. John Hampden, of an ancient family, and considerable fortune, had been rated at twenty shillings, for an estate he possessed in Buckinghamshire: and notwithstanding the powers of the constitution seemed to be entirely subdued; notwithstanding there was no prospect of relief from parliament; notwithstanding the ministers of Charles were armed



J. Thompson

OLIVER CROMWELL

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armed with power, and held in one hand the sword, in the other the yoke over their helpless country; this illustrious patriot, by an appeal to the laws of the realm, resolutely stood the resentment of a tyrant, rather than submit to the illegal imposition. After many pleadings and traverses, the cause was heard before all the judges in the exchequer-chamber. Twelve days were spent in the pleadings of the lawyers, and the case was afterwards argued by the judges. Precedents of writs were produced as ancient as the times of the Saxons; but, when these writs were examined, they were found only to require the sea-ports, sometimes at their own charge, sometimes at the charge of the counties, to send their ships for the defence of the nation. But the power exercised by the crown was entirely abolished by a particular statute; and all the authority which remained, was to press ships into the public service, to be paid by the crown. Yet, notwithstanding this, and Mr. Hampden's counsel unanswerably proving the illegality of the tax, from the fundamental principles of the constitution, and the positive dictates of the great charter, and other constitutional acts: and from the petition of right, which had been lately so solemnly enacted by the concurrence of the whole legislature, the prostituted bench of judges, four individuals excepted, gave sentence in favour of the crown; yet the point in dispute was so impotently contested by the pleaders on the side of prerogative, that nothing could equal the iniquity of their intentions, but the weakness of their arguments. Though Hampden lost his cause, he obtained, by the trial, the end for which he had so generously sacrificed his safety and his quiet: the people were roused from their lethargy; these national questions were canvassed in every company; and, the more they were examined, the more evidently did it appear, that the old constitution was totally subverted, and tyranny established in its stead. Slavish principles, they said, concurred with
illegal

illegal practices ; ecclesiastical tyranny gave aid to civil usurpation ; iniquitous taxes were supported by arbitrary punishments ; and all the privileges of the nation, transmitted through so many ages, secured by so many laws, and purchased by the blood of so many heroes and patriots, now lay prostrate at the feet of the monarch.

Ship-money continued to be exacted with the utmost rigour, and, to keep up appearances, a fleet for some time paraded on the seas. Yet the neutrality of the English ports was not only violated by Spain, France, and Holland, but the English merchantmen were frequently taken by the ships of each of those powers, and particularly the Hollanders took three English East-India ships, valued at three hundred and fifty thousand pounds.

Sir Thomas Wentworth had been a strenuous opposer of the measures of the crown, but the king found means to draw him off from the cause of the people ; he first created him a baron, then a viscount, and afterwards Earl of Stafford, made him president of the council of York, and deputy of Ireland. In which latter post Lord Wentworth laid the first foundation of the affluence and prosperity of Ireland.

When Charles thought he had firmly established an unlimited power over Great Britain, he seriously entered into the project of bringing the three kingdoms into a perfect conformity to that form of worship which he deemed most agreeable to absolute monarchy. In 1633, when he returned from Scotland, he left in charge with the bishops there, to compile a liturgy, and a book of canons, which were to be transmitted into England for Laud's approbation. The bishops of Scotland exerted their new-acquired authority with great imperiousness ; not satisfied with the general high-commission court, they produced warrants from the king, for setting up such a jurisdiction in their several dioceses. Civil offices in Scotland
were

were also dealt out to churchmen with a bountiful hand. Spotswood archbishop of St. Andrew's was created chancellor; nine bishops were privy-counsellors, and possessed places in the exchequer. Besides these grievances, which were highly resented by the Scotch nobility, the manner in which the king imposed on them the law of resumption of the crown-lands, and the law which enlarged his power in ecclesiastical matters, and confirmed religion in its present state, rendered them quite desperate: but they cautiously concealed their sentiments, and impatiently waited for an opportunity, when Charles, by an act of apparent illegal power, should convince the multitude, that the times demanded a determined opposition.

The discontent and opposition which the king met with in England, on his endeavouring to establish uniformity of worship in that kingdom, might have checked his impatience to introduce the same innovations in the church of Scotland; but he still persisted in his attempts, and an order was published for reading the liturgy in Scotland. This excited such a spirit of opposition in the Scotch, that they entered into a covenant to suppress the bishops, and resist the king's authority. This was considered as an open declaration of war, and Charles summoned the nobility of England, who held lands of the crown, to furnish troops to suppress this confederacy.

In 1639, the covenanters prepared in earnest for war. The Earl of Argyle, though he long seemed to temporize, at last embraced the covenant; and he became the chief leader of that party. The Earls of Rothes, Cassils, Montrose, Lothian, and the Lords Lindsey, London, Yester, and Balmerino, also distinguished themselves. Many of their officers had acquired reputation in the German wars, particularly under Gustavus; and these were invited over to assist their country in the present necessity. The command was entrusted to Lesly, a soldier of experience and ability.

Forces

Forces were regularly enlisted and disciplined. Arms were commissioned and imported from foreign countries. A few castles which belonged to the king, being unprovided of victuals, ammunition, and garrisons, were soon seized. And the whole country, except a small part, where the Marquis of Huntly still adhered to the king, being in the covenanters hands, was soon put into a tolerable posture of defence.

Charles, on the other hand, was not deficient in his endeavours to oppose this formidable combination. By regular economy he had not only paid all the debts contracted in the French and Spanish wars, but had amassed a sum of two hundred thousand pounds; which he had reserved for any sudden exigency. The queen had great interest with the Catholics, both from the sympathy of religion, and from the favours and indulgences which she had been able to procure them. She now employed her credit, and persuaded them, that it was reasonable to give large contributions, as a mark of their duty to the king, during this urgent necessity: and thus, to the great scandal of the Puritans, a considerable supply was gained. The king's fleet was formidable and well supplied. Having put five thousand land-forces on-board, he entrusted it to the Marquis of Hamilton, who had orders to sail to the Frith of Forth, and cause a diversion in the forces of the malcontents. An army was levied of near twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse; and was put under the command of the Earl of Arundel, a nobleman of great family, but celebrated neither for military nor political abilities. The Earl of Essex, a man of strict honour, and extremely popular, especially among the soldiery, was appointed lieutenant-general: the Earl of Holland was general of the horse. The king himself joined the army, and he summoned all the peers of England to attend him. The whole had the appearance of a splendid court rather than a military

tary armament, and in this situation the camp arrived at Berwick.

The Scottish army was equally numerous with that of the king, but inferior in cavalry. The officers had more experience; and the soldiers, though ill disciplined and armed, were animated, as well by the national aversion to England, and the dread of becoming a province to their old enemy, as by that religious enthusiasm which was the occasion of the war. They acted with great policy and caution, and punctually observed the king's proclamation, not to approach within ten miles of the borders, thereby shewing that the war was not offensive on their part; till the king ordered the Earl of Holland to march into Scotland by the way of Kelso, with three thousand foot and one thousand horse. Then Lesley, the Scotch general, sent a body of forces to oppose his march; upon which he halted, and thought fit at last to retire. The Scots now thought they should be justified in approaching the borders, and so Lesley marched towards Kelso with twelve thousand men. Then the king saw his mistake, in thinking their obedience to his proclamation was the effect of their fear. And he had still a further reason to dislike his present expedition, when his generals advised him, upon the approach of the Scots, not to give battle, though he was superior to them in number; by which he saw they were not very willing to venture their lives in this quarrel. The two armies therefore being alike resolved to keep upon the defensive, the Scots, at length, sent an humble petition to the king, beseeching him to appoint commissioners to treat of a peace; which his majesty having consented to, the articles of pacification were agreed on, June 17. It was stipulated, that he should withdraw his fleet and army; that within forty-eight hours the Scots should dismiss their forces; that the king's forts should be restored to him; his authority be acknowledged; and a general assembly and parliament be

immediately summoned, in order to compose all differences.

This peace was of no long duration. Charles could not prevail on himself to abandon the cause of episcopacy, and secretly intended to seize every favourable opportunity to recover the ground he had lost. The assembly, on the other hand, proceeded with the utmost fury and violence. They voted episcopacy to be unlawful in the church of Scotland: they stigmatized the canons and liturgy as popish: they denominated the high commission tyranny. The parliament, which sat after the assembly, advanced pretensions which tended to diminish the civil power of the monarch; and, what probably affected Charles still more, they were proceeding to ratify the acts of assembly, when by the king's instructions Traquaire the commissioner prorogued them. And on account of these claims, which might have been easily foreseen, war was recommenced the same year.

No sooner had Charles concluded the peace, than he found himself obliged to disband his army, on account of his want of money; and, as the soldiers had been held together merely by mercenary views, it was not possible, without great trouble, expence, and loss of time, to reassemble them. On the contrary, the covenanters, in dismissing their troops, had been careful to preserve nothing but the appearance of a pacification. The officers had orders to be ready on the first summons: the soldiers were warned not to think the nation secure from an English invasion: and the religious zeal which animated all ranks of men made them immediately fly to their standards, as soon as the trumpet was sounded by their spiritual and temporal leaders.

In 1640, however, the king made shift to draw an army together; but, finding himself unable to support them, was obliged to call a parliament after an intermission of about eleven years. As the sole design of
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the king's calling this parliament was to obtain a supply, and the only reason they had for attending was to procure a redress of grievances, it is not to be supposed there could be any good agreement between them. The king accordingly insisted on money, and the parliament on their grievances, till a dissolution ensued. To add to the unpopularity of this measure, the king, notwithstanding his dissolving the parliament, allowed the convocation to sit; a practice of which, since the reformation, there had been very few examples, and which was now by many deemed very irregular. Besides granting to the king a supply from the spirituality, the convocation, jealous of innovations similar to those which had taken place in Scotland, imposed an oath on the clergy and graduates in the universities, by which every one swore to maintain the established government of the church, by archbishops, bishops, deans, chapters, &c. These steps were deemed illegal, because not ratified by consent of parliament; and the oath, containing an *&c.* in the middle of it, became a subject of general ridicule.

The king, disappointed of parliamentary subsidies, was obliged to have recourse to other expedients. The ecclesiastical subsidies served him in some stead; and it seemed but just that the clergy should contribute to the expence of a war which had been in a great measure of their own raising. He borrowed money from his ministers and courtiers; and so much was he beloved among them, that above three hundred thousand pounds were subscribed in a few days. Some attempts were made towards forcing a loan from the citizens; but still repelled by the spirit of liberty, which was now become unconquerable. A loan of forty thousand pounds was extorted from the Spanish merchants who had bullion in the Tower. Coat and conduct money for the soldiery was levied on the counties; an ancient practice, but which was supposed to be abolished by the petition of right. All the pepper was bought

from the East-India Company upon trust; and sold, at a great discount, for ready money. A scheme was proposed for coining two or three hundred thousand pounds of base money. Such were the extremities to which Charles was reduced. The fresh difficulties, which amidst the present distresses were every day raised, with regard to the payment of ship-money, obliged him to exert continual acts of authority, augmented extremely the discontents of the people, and increased his indigence and necessities.

The present expedients, however, enabled the king, though with great difficulty, to march his army, consisting of nineteen thousand foot and two thousand horse. The Earl of Northumberland was appointed general; the Earl of Strafford, who was called over from Ireland, lieutenant-general; Lord Conway general of the horse. A small fleet was thought sufficient to serve the purposes of this expedition. The Scots, though somewhat superior, were sooner ready than the king's army, and marched to the borders of England. Notwithstanding their warlike preparations and hostile attempts, the covenanters still preserved the most submissive language to the king; and entered England with no other design, they said, than to obtain access to the king's presence, and lay their humble petition at his royal feet. At Newburn upon Tyne they were opposed by a detachment of four thousand five hundred men under Conway, who seemed resolute to dispute with them the passage of the river. The Scots first intreated them, with great civility, not to stop them in their march to their gracious sovereign; and then attacked them with great bravery, killed several, and chased the rest from their ground. Such a panic seized the whole English army, that the forces at Newcastle fled immediately to Durham: and, not yet thinking themselves safe, they deserted that town, and retreated into Yorkshire,

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The Scots continued to advance ; they dispatched messengers to the king, who was now arrived at York. They took care, after the advantage they had gained, to redouble their expressions of loyalty, duty, and submission, to his person ; and they even made apologies full of sorrow and contrition for their late victory. Charles was in a very distressed condition ; and, in order to prevent the further advance of the Scots, agreed to a treaty, and named sixteen English noblemen to meet with eleven Scotch commissioners at Rippon. Strafford, upon whom, by reason of Northumberland's sickness, the command of the army had devolved, advised Charles rather to put all to hazard, than to submit to such unworthy terms as he saw would be imposed upon him. He advised him to push forward and attack the Scots, and bring the affair to a quick decision ; and, if he was ever so unsuccessful, nothing worse could befall him than what from his inactivity he would certainly be exposed to ; and, to shew how easily this project might be executed, he ordered an assault to be made on some quarters of the Scots, and gained an advantage over them. This salutary advice Charles had not the resolution to follow. He therefore resolved to call a council of the peers ; and, as he foresaw that they would advise him to call a parliament, he told them in his first speech, that he had already taken that resolution. In order to subsist both armies (for the king was obliged to pay his enemies, in order to save the northern counties), Charles wrote to the city, desiring a loan of two hundred thousand pounds. And the peers at York, whose authority was now much greater than that of their sovereign, joined in the same request. In short, Charles, having thus hedged himself round with embarrassments, found himself necessitated to call that parliament which completed his ruin. This afterwards obtained the name of The Long Parliament. It met November 3d, 1640 : the house of commons had never been observed so numerous ; and,

that they might strike a decisive blow at once against the court, they began with the impeachment of the Earl of Strafford. That nobleman, who was considered as prime minister, both on account of the credit he possessed with his master, and his own uncommon vigour and capacity, had now the misfortune of having incurred the hatred of all the three kingdoms.

The Scots looked upon him as the enemy of their country. He had engaged the parliament of Ireland to advance large subsidies to be employed in a war against them: he had levied an army of nine thousand men, with which he had menaced all their western coast: he had obliged the Scots who lived under his government to renounce the covenant, &c. he had governed Ireland, first as deputy, and then as lord-lieutenant, during eight years, with great vigilance, activity, and prudence, but with very little popularity. In a nation so averse to the English government and religion, his very virtues were sufficient to draw on him the public hatred. His manners, besides, were at bottom haughty, rigid, and severe; and no sooner did adversity begin to seize him, than the concealed aversion blazed up at once, and the Irish parliament used every expedient to aggravate the charge against him. Strafford, sensible of the load of obloquy under which he had fallen, would gladly have declined attendance in parliament. But, when the earl urged to the king the danger to which he was exposed from appearing amidst so many enraged enemies, Charles, little apprehensive that his own authority was so suddenly to expire, promised him protection, and assured him that not a hair of his head should be touched by the parliament. The commons were no sooner assembled, than they exhibited an accusation of twenty-eight articles against the favourite, which charged him with having attempted to extend the king's authority at home, and with being guilty of several exactions in Ireland. The impeachment amounted to a charge of high treason, and the

the people without doors loudly demanded justice. Those who were appointed by the house of commons to make good their charges at the bar of the house of lords, before whom the delinquent was tried, made use of a kind of accumulative or constructive evidence, by which many actions, innocent in themselves, or criminal in a much inferior degree, shall, when united, amount to treason, and subject the party to the highest penalties inflicted by the law. The earl defended himself with great presence of mind and strength of reasoning; his children stood beside him, whilst, in a long and eloquent speech, which he delivered extempore, he endeavoured to exculpate himself of the crimes laid to his charge: this he concluded by saying, "But, my lords, I have troubled you too long, longer than I should have done, but for the sake of those dear pledges a saint in heaven has left me." Here he pointed to his children, and his tears stopped his utterance. "What I forfeit for myself is but a trifle, but I confess that my indiscretion should reach my posterity wounds me to the heart. Pardon my infirmity. Something I should have added, but am not able, therefore let it pass. And now, my lords, for myself, I have long been taught the extreme vanity of all temporal enjoyments, compared to the importance of our eternal duration. And so, my lords, even so, with all humility, and with all tranquillity of mind, I submit clearly and freely, to your judgments; and, whether that righteous doom shall be life or death, I shall repose myself, full of gratitude and confidence, in the arms of the great Author of my existence." The king, who was present at the trial, which continued eighteen days, upon its being finished, went to the house of lords, and spoke in the earl's defence. But the spirit of the people was excited, and nothing but the blood of the unpopular nobleman could appease it. He was found guilty, and all that remained to determine his fate, was for the king to give his assent to the bill of attainder. Whilst

Charles

Charles continued in an agitation of mind, not knowing how to behave, Strafford took a very extraordinary step: he wrote a letter, in which he entreated the king, for the sake of public peace, to put an end to his unfortunate but innocent life, and to quiet the tumultuous people, by granting them the request for which they were so importunate. Perhaps Strafford hoped that this unusual instance of generosity would engage the king still more strenuously to protect him: perhaps he gave his life up for lost, and absolutely despaired of ever escaping the multiplied dangers with which he was environed. After the most violent conflict in the king's breast, he at last granted a commission to four noblemen to give the royal assent, in his name, to the bill; flattering himself, perhaps, that as neither his will consented to the deed, nor was his hand immediately engaged in it, he was the more free from all the guilt which attended it. These commissioners he empowered at the same time to give his assent to a bill yet more fatal to himself, viz. That the present parliament should not be dissolved, prorogued, or adjourned, without their own consent. By this last bill Charles rendered the power of his enemies perpetual, as it was already uncontrollable.

Soon after the impeachment of Strafford, Laud was accused of high treason, and committed to custody. To avoid the like fate, Lord-keeper Finch and Secretary Windebank fled, the one into Holland, the other into France. The house instituted a new species of guilt, termed delinquency: those who had exercised the powers necessary for the defence of the nation during the late military operations, were now called delinquents. In consequence of this determination, many of the nobility and prime gentry of the nation, while only exerting, as they justly thought, the legal powers of magistracy, found themselves unexpectedly involved in this new crime of delinquency. The commons, however, by their institution, reaped this multiplied advantage;

advantage ; they disarmed the crown, they established the maxims of rigid law and liberty, and they spread the terror of their own authority. All the sheriffs who had formerly exacted ship-money, though by the king's express command, were now declared delinquents. The farmers and officers of the customs who had been employed during so many years in levying tonnage, poundage, &c. were likewise denominated criminals of the same kind, and were afterwards glad to compound for a pardon, by paying one hundred and fifty thousand pounds. Every discretionary or arbitrary sentence of the star-chamber and high-commission courts, which from their very nature were arbitrary, underwent a severe scrutiny ; and all those who had concurred in such sentences, were voted to be liable to the penalties of the law. No minister of the king, no member of the council, but what found himself exposed by this determination. The judges who had formerly given judgment against Hampden for refusing to pay ship-money, were accused before the peers, and obliged to find security for their appearance. Berkley, a judge of the King's-bench, was seized by order of the house, even when sitting in his tribunal. The sanction of the lords and commons, as well as that of the king, was declared necessary for the confirmation of ecclesiastical canons. Monopolists and projectors, if of the king's party, were now expelled the house ; but one Mildmay, a notorious monopolist, was allowed to keep his seat, because he was of the popular party. In short, the constitution was completely new-modelled ; and, during the first period of the transactions of this remarkable parliament, if we except Strafford's attainder, their merits in other respects so much overbalance their mistakes, as to intitle them to very ample praises from all lovers of liberty. Not only were former abuses remedied, and grievances redressed ; great provision for the future was made by excellent laws against the return of the like complaints.

And if the means by which they obtained such mighty advantages favoured often of artifice, sometimes of violence; it is to be considered, that revolutions of government cannot be effected by mere force of argument and reasoning; and that, factions being once excited, men can neither so firmly regulate the tempers of others, nor their own, as to ensure themselves against all exorbitancies.

Had the parliament stopped here, it had been happy for the nation; but they were now resolved to be satisfied with nothing less than the total abolition of monarchy. The king had promised to pay a visit, this summer, to his subjects in Scotland, in order to settle their government; and, though the English parliament was very importunate with him to lay aside that journey, they could not prevail with him so much as to delay it. Having failed in this, they appointed a small committee of both houses to attend him, in order, as was pretended, to see the articles of pacification executed, but really to be spies upon the king, to extend still farther the ideas of parliamentary authority, as well as eclipse his majesty. Endeavours were even used, before Charles's departure, to have a protector of the kingdom appointed, with a power to pass laws without having recourse to the king. About this time, the king concluded the marriage of the Princess Mary with William prince of Orange. He did not conclude this alliance without communicating his intentions to parliament, who were very well satisfied with the proposal. They adjourned from September 9th to October 20th, 1641.

In the mean time a most dangerous rebellion broke out in Ireland, with circumstances of unparalleled horror, bloodshed, and devastation. The old Irish, by the wise conduct of James, had been fully subdued, and proper means taken for securing their dependence and subjection for the future; but their old animosity still remained, and only wanted an occasion to exert itself.

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This they obtained from the weak condition to which Charles was reduced, and this was made use of in the following manner.

One Roger More, a gentleman descended from an ancient Irish family, but of narrow fortune, first formed the project of expelling the English, and asserting the independency of his native country. He secretly went from chieftain to chieftain, and roused up every latent principle of discontent. He maintained a close correspondence with Lord Macguire and Sir Phelim O'Neale, the most powerful of the old Irish; and by his persuasions soon engaged not only them, but the most considerable persons of the nation, into a conspiracy; and, it was hoped, the English *of the pale*, as they were called, or the old English planters, being all Catholics, would afterwards join the party which restored their religion to its ancient splendour and authority. The plan was, that Sir Phelim O'Neale, and the other conspirators, should begin an insurrection on one day throughout the provinces, and should attack all the English settlements; and that, on the very same day, Lord Macguire and Roger More should surprise the castle of Dublin. They fixed on the beginning of winter for the commencement of this revolt; that there might be more difficulty in transporting forces from England. Succours to themselves, and supplies of arms, they expected from France, in consequence of a promise made them by Cardinal Richelieu; and many Irish officers who had served in the Spanish troops had given assurances of their concurrence, as soon as they saw an insurrection entered upon by their Catholic brethren. News, which every day arrived from England, of the fury expressed by the commons against all Papists, struck fresh terror into the Irish nation, stimulated the conspirators to execute their fatal purpose, and assured them of the concurrence of their countrymen.

Such a propensity was discovered in all the Irish to revolt, that it was deemed unnecessary as well as dangerous to trust the secret in many hands; and, though the day appointed drew nigh, no discovery had yet been made to government. The king, indeed, had received information from his ambassadors, that something was in agitation among the Irish in foreign parts; but, though he gave warning to the administration in Ireland, his intelligence was entirely neglected. They were awakened from their security only that very day before the commencement of hostilities. The castle of Dublin, by which the capital was commanded, contained arms for ten thousand men, with thirty-five pieces of cannon, and a proportionable quantity of ammunition. Yet was this important place guarded, and that too without any care, by no greater force than fifty men. Macguire and More were already in town with a numerous band of their retainers; others were expected that night; and next morning they were to enter upon what they esteemed the easiest of all enterprises, the surprisal of the castle. O'Conolly, however, an Irishman, but a Protestant, discovered the conspiracy. The justices and council fled immediately to the castle, and reinforced the guards. The city was presently alarmed, and all the Protestants prepared for defence. More escaped, but Macguire was taken; and Mahon, one of the conspirators, being likewise seized, first discovered to the justices the project of a general insurrection.

But, though O'Connell's discovery saved the castle from a surprize, Mahon's confession came too late to prevent the intended insurrection. O'Neale and his confederates had already taken arms in Ulster. The houses, cattle, and goods, of the English were first seized. Those who heard of the commotions in their neighbourhood, instead of deserting their habitations, and assembling together for mutual protection, remained at home in hopes of defending their property; and

and fell thus separately into the hands of their enemies. An universal massacre now commenced, accompanied with circumstances of unequalled barbarity. No age, sex, or condition, was spared. All connections were dissolved, and death was dealt by that hand from which protection was implored and expected. All the tortures which wanton cruelty could devise, all the lingering pains of body, the anguish of mind, the agonies of despair, could not satiate revenge excited without injury, and cruelty derived from no cause. Such enormities, in short, were committed, that, though attested by undoubted evidence, they appear almost incredible. The stately buildings or commodious habitations of the planters, as if upbraiding the sloth and ignorance of the natives, were consumed with fire, or laid level with the ground; and where the miserable owners, shut up in their houses, and preparing for defence, perished in the flames, together with their wives and children, a double triumph was afforded to their insulting foes. If any where a number assembled together, and resolved to oppose the assassins, they were disarmed by capitulation and promises of safety, confirmed by the most solemn oaths; but no sooner had they surrendered, than the rebels, with perfidy equal to their cruelty, made them share the fate of their unhappy countrymen. Others tempted their prisoners, by the fond love of life, to embrue their hands in the blood of friends, brothers, or parents; and, having thus rendered them accomplices in their own guilt, gave them that death which they sought to shun by deserving it.

Such were the barbarities by which Sir Phelim O'Neale and the Irish in Ulster signalised their rebellion. More, shocked at the recital of these enormities, flew to O'Neale's camp; but found that his authority, which was sufficient to excite the Irish to a rebellion, was too feeble to restrain their inhumanity. Soon after he abandoned the cause, and retired to Flanders. From Ulster, the flames of rebellion diffused themselves

themselves in an instant over the other three provinces of Ireland. In all places death and slaughter were not uncommon; though the Irish in these other provinces pretended to act with moderation and humanity. But cruel and barbarous was their humanity! Not content with expelling the English from their houses, they stripped them of their very clothes, and turned them out naked and defenceless to all the severities of the season. The heavens themselves, as if conspiring against that unhappy people, were armed with cold and tempest unusual to the climate, and executed what the sword had left unfinished. By some computations, those who perished by all these cruelties are supposed to amount to one hundred and fifty thousand, or two hundred thousand; but by the most reasonable and moderate they are made to amount only to forty thousand; though probably even this account is not free of exaggeration.

The English of the pale, who probably were not at first in the secret, pretended to blame the insurrection, and to detest the barbarity with which it was accompanied. By their protestations and declarations they engaged the justices to supply them with arms, which they promised to employ in defence of government. But, in a little time, the interests of religion were found to be more prevalent over them than regard and duty to their native country. They chose Lord Gormonstone their leader; and, joining the old Irish, rivalled them in every act of cruelty towards the English Protestants. Besides many smaller bodies, dispersed over the kingdom, the main army of the rebels amounted to twenty thousand men, and threatened Dublin with an immediate siege. Both the English and Irish rebels conspired in one imposture, by which they seduced many of their countrymen. They pretended authority from the king and queen, but especially the latter, for their insurrection; and they affirmed that the cause of their taking arms was to vindicate the royal prerogative,

prerogative, now invaded by the puritanical parliament. Sir Phelim O'Neale, having found a royal patent in the house of Lord Caulfield, whom he had murdered, tore off the seal, and affixed it to a commission which he had forged for himself.

The king received intelligence of this insurrection while in Scotland, and immediately acquainted the Scots parliament with it. He hoped, as there had all along been such an outcry against Popery, that now, when that religion was appearing in its blackest colours, the whole nation would vigorously support him in the suppression of it. But here he found himself much mistaken. The Scots considering themselves now as a republic, and conceiving hopes from the present distresses of Ireland, they resolved to make an advantageous bargain for the succours with which they should supply the neighbouring nation. Except dispatching a small body of forces, to support the Scots colonies in Ulster; they would, therefore, go no farther than to send commissioners to London, in order to treat with the parliament, to whom the sovereign power was in reality transferred. The king, too, sensible of his utter inability to subdue the Irish rebels, found himself obliged, in this exigency, to have recourse to the English parliament, and depend on their assistance for supply. He told them that the insurrection was not, in his opinion, the result of any rash enterprize, but of a formed conspiracy against the crown of England. To their care and wisdom, therefore, he said, he committed the conduct and prosecution of the war, which, in a cause so important to national and religious interests, must of necessity be immediately entered upon, and vigorously pursued.

The English parliament, now re-assembled, discovered in each vote the same dispositions in which they had separated. Nothing less than a total abolition of monarchy would serve their turn. That expression of the king's, by which he committed to them the care of Ireland,

Ireland, they immediately laid hold of, and interpreted in the most unlimited sense. They had on other occasions been gradually encroaching on the executive power of the crown, which forms its principal and most natural branch of authority; but, with regard to Ireland, they at once assumed it, fully and entirely, as if delivered over to them by a regular gift or assignment. And to this usurpation the king was obliged passively to submit, both because of his inability to resist, and lest he should expose himself still more to the charge of favouring the rebels; a reproach eagerly thrown upon him by the popular party as soon as they heard that the Irish pretended to act by his commission. Nay, to complete their character, while they pretended the utmost zeal against the insurgents, they took no steps for their suppression, but such as likewise gave them the superiority in those commotions which they foresaw must soon be excited in England. They levied money under pretence of the Irish expedition, but reserved it for purposes which concerned them more nearly: they took arms from the king's magazines, but still kept them with a secret intention of making use of them against himself: whatever law they deemed necessary for aggrandizing themselves, they voted, under colour of enabling them to recover Ireland; and, if Charles withheld his royal assent, the refusal was imputed to those pernicious counsels which had at first excited to Popish rebellion, and which still threatened total ruin to the Protestant interest throughout his dominions. And though no forces were for a long time sent over to Ireland, and very little money remitted during the extreme distress of that kingdom; so strong was the people's attachment to the commons, that the fault was never imputed to those pious zealots, whose votes breathed nothing but death and destruction to the Irish rebels.

The conduct of the parliament towards the king now became exceedingly unreasonable, unjust, and
cruel.

cruel. It was thought proper to frame a general remonstrance of the state of the kingdom; and accordingly the committee, which at the first meeting of the parliament had been chosen for that purpose, were commanded to finish their undertaking. The king returned from Scotland November 25th, 1641. He was received in London with the shouts and acclamations of the populace, and with every demonstration of regard and affection. Sir Richard Gournay, lord-mayor, a man of great merit and authority, had promoted these favourable dispositions; and had engaged the populace, who so lately insulted the king, and who so soon after made furious war upon him, to give him these marks of their dutiful attachment. But all the pleasure which Charles reaped from this joyful reception was soon damped by the remonstrance of the commons, which was presented to him together with a petition of the like nature. The bad counsels which he had followed were there complained of; his concurrence in the Irish rebellion plainly insinuated; the schemes laid for the introduction of popery and superstition was inveighed against; and, for a remedy to all these evils, the king was desired to entrust every office and command to persons in whom his parliament should have cause to confide. By this phrase, which was very often repeated in all the memorials and addresses of that time, the commons meant themselves and their adherents. To this remonstrance Charles was obliged to make a civil reply, notwithstanding his subjects had transgressed all bounds of respect, and even good manners, in their treatment of their sovereign.

It would be tedious to point out every invasion of the prerogative now attempted by the commons: but, finding themselves at last likely to be opposed by the nobility, who saw their own depression closely connected with that of the crown, they openly told the upper house, that “they themselves were the repre-

sentatives of the whole body of the kingdom, and that the peers were nothing but individuals, who held their seats in a particular capacity; and therefore, if their lordships would not consent to acts necessary for the preservation of the people, the commons, together with such of the lords as were more sensible of the danger, must join together and represent the matter to his majesty." Every method proper for alarming the populace was now put in practice. The commons affected continual fears of destruction to themselves and to the whole nation. They excited the people by never-ceasing inquiries after conspiracies, by reports of insurrections, by feigned intelligence of invasions from abroad; and by discoveries of dangerous combinations at home. When Charles dismissed the guard which they had ordered during his absence, they complained; and, upon his promising them a new guard under the command of the Earl of Lindsey, they absolutely refused the offer: they ordered halberts to be brought into the hall where they assembled, and thus armed themselves against those conspiracies with which they pretended they were hourly threatened. Several reduced officers, and young gentlemen of the inns of court, during this time of distress and danger, offered their service to the king. Between them and the populace there passed frequent skirmishes, which ended not without bloodshed. By way of reproach, these gentlemen gave the rabble the name of Round-heads, on account of their short cropt hair; whilst they distinguished the others by the name of Cavaliers. And thus the nation, which was before sufficiently provided with religious as well as civil causes of quarrel, was also supplied with party-names, under which the factions might rendezvous and signalize their mutual hatred.

These tumults continued to increase about Westminster and Whitehall. The cry continually resounded against bishops and rotten-hearted lords. The former especially,

especially, being easily distinguishable by their habit; and being the object of violent hatred to all the sectaries, were exposed to the most dangerous insults. The Archbishop of York, having been abused by the populace, hastily called a meeting of his brethren. By his advice a protestation was drawn and addressed to the king and the house of lords. The bishops there set forth, that, though they had an undoubted right to sit and vote in parliament, yet in coming thither they had been menaced, assaulted, affronted, by the unruly multitude, and could no longer with safety attend their duty in the house. For this reason they protested against all laws, votes, and resolutions, as null and invalid, which should pass during the time of their forced absence. This protestation, which, though just and legal, was certainly ill-timed, was signed by twelve bishops, and communicated to the king, who hastily approved of it. As soon as it was presented to the lords, that house desired a conference with the commons, whom they informed of this unexpected protestation. The opportunity was seized with joy and triumph. An impeachment of high treason was immediately sent up against the bishops, as endeavouring to subvert the fundamental law, and to invalidate the authority of the legislature. They were, on the first demand, sequestered from parliament, and committed to custody. No man in either house ventured to speak a word in their vindication: so much was every one displeased at the egregious imprudence of which they had been guilty. One person alone said, that he did not believe them guilty of high treason; but that they were stark mad, and therefore desired they might be sent to Bedlam.

This was a fatal blow to the royal interest; but it soon felt a much greater from the imprudence of the king himself. Charles had suppressed his resentment, and only strove to gratify the commons by the greatness of his concessions; but, finding that all his com-

pliance had but increased their demands, he could no longer contain. He gave orders to Herbert his attorney-general to enter an accusation of high treason, in the house of peers, against Lord Kimbolton, one of the most popular men of his party, together with five commoners, Sir Arthur Haslerig, Hollis, Hampden, Pym, and Strode. The articles were, That they had traiterously endeavoured to subvert the fundamental laws and government of the kingdom, to deprive the king of his regal power, and to impose on his subjects an arbitrary and tyrannical authority; that they had invited a foreign army to invade the kingdom; that they had aimed at subverting the very right and being of parliaments; and had actually raised and countenanced tumults against the king. Men had scarcely leisure to wonder at the precipitancy and imprudence of this impeachment, when they were astonished by another measure still more rash and unsupported. A serjeant at arms, in the king's name, demanded of the house the five members, and was sent back without any positive answer. This was followed by a conduct still more extraordinary. The next day, the king himself was seen to enter the house of commons alone, advancing through the hall, while all the members stood up to receive him. The speaker withdrew from his chair, and the king took possession of it. Having seated himself, and looked round him for some time, he told the house, that he was sorry for the occasion that had forced him thither; that he was come in person to seize the members whom he had accused of high treason, seeing they would not deliver them up to his serjeant at arms. Then, addressing himself to the speaker, he desired to know whether any of them were in the house: but the speaker, falling on his knees, replied, that he had neither eyes to see, nor tongue to speak, in that place, but as the house was pleased to direct him; and he asked pardon for being able to give no other answer. The king sat for some time, to see if the accused were present;

sent; but they had escaped a few minutes before his entry. Thus disappointed, perplexed, and not knowing on whom to rely, he next proceeded, amidst the invectives of the populace, who continued to cry out, Privilege! Privilege! to the common-council of the city, and made his complaint to them. The common-council answered his complaints by a contemptuous silence; and, on his return, one of the populace, more insolent than the rest, cried out, "To your tents, O Israel!" a watch-word among the Jews, when they intended to abandon their princes.

When the commons assembled the next day, they pretended the greatest terror; and passed an unanimous vote that the king had violated their privileges, and that they could not assemble again in the same place, till they should obtain satisfaction, and have a guard for their security. The king had retired to Windsor, and from thence he wrote to his parliament, making every concession, and promising every satisfaction in his power. But they were resolved to accept of nothing unless he would discover his advisers in that illegal measure; a condition to which, they knew, that, without rendering himself for ever vile and contemptible, he could not possibly submit.

The commons had already stripped the king of almost all his privileges; the bishops were fled, the judges were intimidated; it now only remained, after securing the church and the law, that they should get possession of the sword also. The power of appointing governors and generals, and of levying armies, was still a remaining prerogative of the crown. Having therefore first magnified their terrors of popery, which perhaps they actually dreaded, they proceeded to petition that the Tower might be put into their hands; and that Hull, Portsmouth, and the fleet, should be intrusted to persons of their choosing. These were requests, the complying with which subverted what remained of the constitution; however, such was the necessity of the times, that

that they were at first contested, and then granted. At last, every compliance only increasing the avidity of making fresh demands, the commons desired to have a militia, raised and governed by such officers and commanders as they should nominate, under pretence of securing them from the Irish Papists, of whom they were under the greatest apprehension.

It was here that Charles first ventured to put a stop to his concessions; and that not by a refusal, but a delay. He was at that time at Dover attending the queen and the Princess of Orange, who had thought it prudent to leave the kingdom. He replied to the petition, that he had not now leisure to consider a matter of such great importance; and therefore would defer an answer till his return. But the commons were well aware, that, though this was depriving him even of the shadow of power, yet they had now gone too far to recede; and they were therefore desirous of leaving him no authority whatever, being conscious that themselves would be the first victims to its fury. They alleged, that the dangers and distempers of the nation were such as could endure no longer delay; and, unless the king should speedily comply with their demands, they should be obliged, both for his safety and that of the kingdom, to embody and direct a militia by the authority of both houses. In their remonstrances to the king, they desired even to be permitted to command the army for an appointed time: which so exasperated him, that he exclaimed, "No, not for an hour." This peremptory refusal broke off all further treaty; and both sides were now resolved to have recourse to arms.

Charles, taking the Prince of Wales with him, retired to York, where he found the people more loyal, and less infected with the frenzy of the times. He found his cause there backed by a more numerous party among the people than he had expected. The queen, who was in Holland, was making successful levies

levies of men and ammunition by selling the crown-jewels. The parliament availed themselves of the general apprehension which was spread over the kingdom of an invasion from Ireland, and an insurrection of the Roman Catholics in England, to induce the people to contribute their plate, and other valuables, for the defence of the kingdom. The zeal which was discovered on this occasion was astonishing and unexampled, and was the first instance of benevolences truly voluntary, that had been raised in this kingdom for the public service, although the ruling prince had, in almost all periods of its history, levied contributions under that specious denomination. But, though each side was preparing vigorously for war, yet every precaution was taken lay to the blame of the first infraction of the peace by one on the other. The king offered proposals to the commons, which he knew they would not accept; and they in return offered him nineteen propositions, which, if complied with, would have rendered him entirely subservient to their commands. Their import was, that the privy-council, the principal officers of state, the governors of the king's children, as well as of the forts, castles, fleets, and armies, should all be appointed by, or under the controul of, parliament. That papists should be punished by their authority; that the church and liturgy should be reformed at their discretion; and that such members as had been displaced for former offences should be restored. These proposals were rejected; war, on any terms, was esteemed by the king and his counsellors preferable to so ignominious a peace. Charles accordingly resolved to support his authority by force of arms. "His towns," he said, "were taken from him; his ships, his army, and his money: but there still remained to him a good cause, and the hearts of his loyal subjects; which, with God's blessing, he doubted not would recover all the rest." Collecting therefore some

forces, he advanced southwards, and erected his royal standard at Nottingham, on the 25th of August, 1642.

The king found himself supported in the civil war by the nobility and more considerable gentry. The concurrence of the bishops and church of England also increased the adherents of the king; but it may be safely affirmed, that the high monarchical doctrines so much inculcated by the clergy, had never done him any good. The bulk of the nobility and gentry who now attended the king in his distresses, breathed the spirit of liberty as well as of loyalty: and in the hopes alone of his submitting to a limited and legal government they were willing to sacrifice their lives and fortunes.

On the other hand, the city of London, and most of the great corporations, took part with the parliament; and adopted with zeal those democratical principles on which these assemblies were founded. The example of the Dutch commonwealth, too, where liberty had so happily supported industry, made the commercial part of the nation desire to see a like form of government established in England. Many families also, who had enriched themselves by commerce, saw with indignation, that, notwithstanding their opulence, they could not raise themselves to a level with the ancient gentry; they therefore adhered to a power by whose success they hoped to acquire rank and consideration.

At first every advantage seemed to lie against the royal cause. The king was totally destitute of money. London, and all the sea-ports except Newcastle, being in the hands of parliament, they were secure of a considerable revenue; and, the seamen naturally following the disposition of the ports to which they belonged, the parliament had the entire dominion of the sea. All the magazines of arms and ammunition they seized at first: and their fleet intercepted the greatest part of those sent by the queen from Holland. The king, in order to arm his followers, was obliged to borrow the
weapons

weapons of the train-bands, under promise of restoring them as soon as peace should be settled. The nature and qualities of his adherents alone gave the king some compensation for all the advantages possessed by his adversaries. More bravery and activity were hoped for from the generous spirit of the nobles and gentry, than from the base disposition of the multitude. And as the landed gentlemen; at their own expence, levied and armed their tenants, besides an attachment to their masters, greater force and courage were to be expected from these rustic troops than from the vicious and enervated populace of cities. Had the parliamentary forces, however, exerted themselves at first, they might have easily dissipated the small number the king had been able to collect, and which amounted to no more than eight hundred horse and three hundred foot; while his enemies were within a few days march of him with six thousand men. In a short time the parliamentary army were ordered to march to Northampton; and the Earl of Essex, who had joined them, found the whole to amount to fifteen thousand. The king's army too was soon reinforced from all quarters; but still, having no force capable of coping with the parliamentary army, he thought it prudent to retire to Derby, and from thence to Shrewsbury, in order to countenance the levies which his friends were making in those parts. At Wellington, a day's march from Shrewsbury, he made a rendezvous of all his forces, and caused his military orders to be read at the head of every regiment. That he might bind himself by reciprocal obligations, he here protested solemnly before his whole army, that he would maintain the Protestant religion according to the church of England; that he would govern according to the known statutes and customs of the kingdom; and particularly that he would observe inviolable the laws to which he had given his consent during this parliament, &c.

While Charles lay at Shrewsbury, he received the news of an action, the first which had happened in this war, and wherein his party was victorious. On the appearance of commotions in England, the Princes Rupert and Maurice, sons of the unfortunate elector palatine, had offered their service to the king; and the former at that time commanded a body of horse which had been sent to Worcester in order to watch the motions of Essex, who was marching towards that city. No sooner had the prince arrived, than he saw some cavalry of the enemy approaching the gates. Without delay he briskly attacked them, as they were defiling from a lane, and forming themselves. Colonel Sandys their commander was killed, the whole party routed, and pursued above a mile.

October 23, 1642, a great battle was fought between the two armies, at Keynton, or Edge-hill, in Warwickshire. The king's troops at first had the advantage; but, Prince Rupert pursuing Essex's routed cavalry too far, the foot of the royal army was so pressed by the parliamentarians, that they were in danger of being totally defeated. Sir William Balfour, who commanded a body of reserve under Lord Essex, even took the royal standard; but it was afterwards recovered. Both sides claimed the victory, and both sides sustained very great loss, the number of the slain on the field of battle being about five thousand. The next day they faced one another from morning till evening, without either desiring to renew the fight. The king took Banbury-castle two or three days after, and then retired to Oxford.

The king's friends in the city and parliament pressed for a peace. The parliament could not avoid seeming to comply, and accordingly sent to his majesty, to desire a safe conduct, for a committee of lords and commons, to attend him with a petition for a treaty; which the king granted. In the mean time he began to march towards London, either with a design to surprise

surprise the city, or to raise such commotions there as might turn to his advantage. The Earl of Essex, having notice of the king's march, followed him, and arrived with his army near London about the same that the king arrived at Colebrook, where he received the parliament's petition, to which he returned a gracious answer; so that they sent orders to their forces to forbear all acts of hostility. But, in a few hours after the departure of the committee from his majesty, he began to march towards Brentford, where some of the parliament's troops were quartered. As soon as he arrived, November 12, he attacked the town, and, after a sharp fight, wherein many of the parliament's men were slain, and others driven into the river, became master of the place.

The Earl of Essex immediately posted to his army, which the parliament took such expeditious measures to strengthen, by ordering the lord-mayor to send out the city trained-bands, that the king thinking not fit to hazard a battle, which Essex was making the necessary preparations for, withdrew to Kingston, and from thence again to Oxford. There was a sharp fight at Salt-heath, near Stafford, on the 19th of March, 1643, which lasted four hours, till, the Earl of Northampton being slain, the parliament's troops got the victory. The same day Sir William Waller fell upon the Lord Herbert, as he was besieging Gloucester, killed five hundred of his men, and took a thousand prisoners. And about the same time Sir Ralph Hopton defeated a party of parliamentarians at Bradock-down, in Cornwall, slew abundance of them, and took twelve hundred prisoners.

At this time Oliver Cromwell, member for the town of Cambridge, began to be more than ordinarily taken notice of, for his military skill and courage. At the breaking out of the war, he was commissioned by the parliament to be captain of a troop of horse, which he speedily raised in his own county. In listing them, he

had regard to such only as he thought to be stout and resolute ; and having completed his troop he used this art to prove them : upon their first muster, near some of the king's garrisons, he privily placed twelve of them in an ambuscade, who, with a trumpet sounding a charge, made furiously towards the body, of which above twenty, thinking they came from the enemy, presently fled for fear, whom Cromwell immediately cashiered, and mounted their horses with such as were more bold and courageous. The university of Cambridge being not far off him, he very seasonably secured it for the parliament, when a great quantity of the college-plate was just upon the point of being conveyed to the king at Oxford. And so active and industrious was he, that when Sir Thomas Connesby, high-sheriff of Hertfordshire, was going to proclaim the Earl of Essex the parliament's general, and all his adherents, traitors, at St. Alban's, on a market-day, he rushed unawares into the town with a party of horse, surprized the sheriff and his assistants, and sent them prisoners to London, to the no small satisfaction of parliament, who gave him the thanks of the house, from this time looking upon him as a very promising person for their service.

In 1643, the treaty was carried on, but without any cessation of hostilities : and indeed the negociation went no farther than the first demand on each side ; for the parliament, finding no likelihood of coming to an accommodation, suddenly recalled their commissioners. On the 27th of April, Reading surrendered to the parliamentary forces under the Earl of Essex, who commanded a body of eighteen thousand men. The Earl of Northumberland united in a league for the king the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and the bishopric ; and engaged some time after other counties in the same association. The same nobleman also took possession of York, and dislodged the
forces

forces of the parliament at Tadcaster, but his victory was not decisive.

The Earl of Stamford, the parliament's general in the West, was defeated by Sir Ralph Hopton, in the battle of Stratton. On June 18, there was a fight in Chaldgrave-field, in which the famous Mr. Hampden, a great leader in the parliament, was slain. His death was soon followed by that of Mr. Pym, a person of great abilities, and the most leading man amongst them. Hampden, with the boldness of a well-principled patriot, had nobly opposed the arbitrary demands of the crown in the levying of ship-money, backed as they were by the opinion of the judges. His attachment to his religious principles, as we have seen, led him to resolve upon renouncing his country, where he lived in affluence, and universally respected, and to court the inhospitable wilds of America: his inflexible integrity gained him the esteem even of his enemies, and his humanity and benevolence the affection of all that knew him more intimately.

The queen having landed at Burlington, and staid some time at York, at length joined her royal consort at Oxford, with a good body of troops, and a considerable quantity of artillery and ammunition, which she brought over from Holland. On July 5, was fought the battle of Lansdown, in which, though the Marquis of Hertford, who commanded for the king, lost almost all his horse, yet Sir William Waller was at last compelled to quit the field. But Sir William met with a worse fate on the 13th, when at Roundway-down, in Wiltshire, he was entirely defeated, five or six thousand of his men being killed, and nine hundred made prisoners. Another addition to the king's strength, was the concluding, by his order, a cessation of arms with the Irish, that he might have the assistance of the forces employed there, against the parliament in England. This was immediately followed by the siege of Bristol, which surrendered to Prince Rupert on the
twenty-

twenty-fifth of the same month. Though the taking of Bristol cost the royalists dear, yet such a continued run of success had greatly dispirited the opposite party; and such confusion now prevailed in London, that some proposed to the king to march directly to that city, which it was hoped might be reduced, either by an insurrection of the citizens, by victory, or by treaty, and thus an end put to the civil disorders at once. This advice, however, was rejected, on account of the great number of the London militia; and it was resolved first to reduce Gloucester, in consequence of which the king would have the whole course of the Severn under his command. The rich and malcontent counties of the west having then lost all protection from their friends, might be enforced to pay large contributions as an atonement for their disaffection; an open communication could be preserved between Wales and these new conquests; and half the kingdom being entirely freed from the enemy, and thus united into one firm body, might be employed in re-establishing the king's authority throughout the remainder.

The siege of this city commenced August the 10th; but being defended by Massey a resolute governor, and well garrisoned, it made a vigorous defence. The consternation at London, however, was as great as if the enemy had been already at their gates; and in the midst of the general confusion, a design was formed by Waller of forcing the parliament to accept of some reasonable conditions of peace. He imparted his design to some others; but, a discovery being made of their proceedings, he and two others were condemned to death. Waller, however, escaped with a fine of ten thousand pounds. The city of Gloucester in the mean time was reduced to the utmost extremity; and the parliament, as their last resource, dispatched Essex with an army of fourteen thousand men, in order to force the king to raise the siege of that city. This he
2 accomplished;

accomplished; and, when he entered, found only one barrel of gunpowder left, and other provisions in the same proportion. The earl, in his departure from Gloucester, made himself master of Cirencester.

On September 20, a long and bloody battle was fought at Newbury. It continued from morning till late at night, when the king retired with his army, having lost above twenty officers of note. Though the victory was left undecided, Essex next morning proceeded on his march, and reached London in safety, where he received the applause for his conduct he deserved. The king followed him on his march; and, having taken possession of Reading after the earl left it, he there established a garrison, and straitened by that means London and the quarters of the enemy. On the 25th, Prince Maurice, brother to Prince Rupert, took Exeter for the king.

As the loss of Hampden was much lamented by the parliament side, the death of the Lord Faulkland, secretary of state, who was slain at the battle of Newbury, was no less so by the king's party. Lord Faulkland was a nobleman distinguished by his pursuits in literature: possessing a fine genius, and an opulent fortune, all the noble sources of mental enjoyment were opened to him. Called into public life, he stood foremost in all attacks on the high prerogatives of the crown; and displayed that masculine eloquence, and undaunted love of liberty, which from his intimate acquaintance with the sublime spirits of antiquity he had greedily imbibed. When civil convulsions proceeded to extremities, and it became requisite for him to chose his side, he tempered the ardour of his zeal, and embraced the defence of those limited powers which then remained to monarchy, and which he deemed necessary for the support of the English constitution. Still anxious, however, for his country, he seemed to have dreaded the too prosperous success of his own party, as much as of the enemy; and, among
his

his intimate friends, often, after a deep silence and frequent sighs, he would with a sad accent reiterate the word *peace*. Though he held the office of secretary of state, which exempted him from being exposed to the dangers of the field, yet he was ever forward to expose his person, alleging, that it became him to be more active than other men in all hazardous enterprizes, lest his impatience for peace should draw on him the imputation of timidity. From the commencement of hostilities, his natural cheerfulness and vivacity became clouded, and even his usual attention to dress, required by his birth and station, gave way to a negligence which was easily observable. On the morning of the day on which he fell, he had shewn some care of adorning his person; and gave for a reason, that the enemy should not find his body in any slovenly indecent situation. "I am weary," subjoined he, "of the times, and foresee much misery to my country; but believe that I shall be out of it ere night." This excellent person was but thirty-four years of age, when a period was thus put to his life.--From the opposite parties which these two distinguished characters, Hampden and Faulkland, embraced, a spirit of candour and moderation, in deciding on the conduct of men, may be strongly urged. The reasoning faculties of man are so imperfect, that contrariety of opinion will arise in points of the highest consequence to the happiness of human life: truth comes to us tinged very early by the tints it receives from education, example, and prepossessions, derived from constitution, temper, and even climate; and, by those who possess the best disposition to acquire it, it is frequently lost in the labyrinths of disputation concerning it.

In the north, during this summer, the Earl, now created Marquis of Newcastle, had raised a considerable force for the king; and great hopes of success were entertained from that quarter. There appeared, however, in opposition to him, two men on whom the
event

event of the war finally depended, and who began about this time to be remarked for their valour and military conduct. These were Sir Thomas Fairfax, son to the lord of that name; and Oliver Cromwell. The former gained a considerable advantage over the royalists at Wakefield, and took General Goring prisoner, Cromwell was this year advanced to the degree of a colonel, and by his own management raised a regiment of a thousand horse, with which he ranged about, and with great industry obstructed many levies for the king in Cambridgeshire, Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk; and particularly he defeated the project of a counter-association for the king's service, contrived by Sir John Pettus, Sir Edward Barker, and other gentlemen, at the town of Lestoff, in Suffolk, with great secrecy and celerity entering the town and surprizing them all. Here he also gained good store of ammunition, saddles, pistols, powder, shot, and several engines for war, sufficient to have served a considerable force. So that this action of Cromwell's was a very seasonable service to the parliament, and proved a great discouragement to all the king's party both in Suffolk and Norfolk.

After this he was sent to guard some ammunition from Warwick to Gloucester, and by the way took in Hilsden-house, and in it Sir Alexander Denton, the owner, Colonel Smith, many inferior officers, about a hundred horse, thirteen barrels of powder, and about an hundred and fifty common soldiers, besides forty slain; then he gave an alarm to Oxford, and so went on to Gloucester.

He was now made lieutenant-general to the Earl of Manchester; and, having raised a greater force of such as came freely to him, he marched towards Lincolnshire, with a resolution to assist those forces which lay about Newark, one of the strongest garrisons then held for the king. In his march through Huntingdonshire he disarmed many that were ill-affected to the parliament. He was now above two thousand strong, and

received an addition of horse from Captain Hotham. At his first approach before Newark he performed a good piece of service: for Captain Wray with his Lincolnshire horse, too rashly quartering near the town, was in the night set upon by the garrison, which made a great sally, and surrounded and took all his men. But, the alarm coming to Cromwell, he advanced, and at ten o'clock at night fell upon the Newarkers, rescued Captain Wray's troop, and took three of their's, with the slaughter of many of them. After this, sitting down before the town, he took many men and colours at several times; and soon after, meeting with twenty-four troops of the king's horse and dragoons near Grantham, he encountered them with such fury and resolution, that, though he had but seven troops with him, he entirely routed them.

The Earl of Newcastle, being informed that the Lord Willoughby of Parham had got possession of the town of Gainsborough for the parliament, sent his brother Colonel Cavendish, lieutenant-general of his army, with a great party of horse and dragoons, to summon it, himself marching after with the foot. Upon this Cromwell resolved to attempt the relief of that place, and with twelve troops of horse and dragoons marched thither, where he found the enemy, who were drawn up near the town, to be more than thrice his number, and no way to attack them, but through a gate and up hill; notwithstanding which disadvantages, he undauntedly fell upon them, and, after some dispute, entirely defeated them, killing many of their officers, and among others, Lieutenant-general Cavendish.

Of this action Cromwell himself gives the following account, in a letter dated July 31. "I marched after the taking of Burleigh to Grantham, and was joined by the Lincolneers at North Scarles, ten miles from Gainsborough. About a mile and a half from the town, we met the forlorn of the enemy, who drove
a troop

a troop of our dragoons back to their main body. We advanced, and came to the bottom of a steep hill, which we could not well get up but by some tracks; and the body of the enemy endeavoured to hinder us, but we prevailed and gained the top of it. This was done by the Lincolneers, who had the van-guard. A great body of the enemy's horse faced us there, at about a musquet-shot distance, and a good reserve of a full regiment of horse behind it. We did what we could to put our men in good order, and the enemy advanced towards us to prevent it, and to take us at a disadvantage; but, in such order as we were, we charged their great body, I having the right wing. We came up horse to horse, where we disputed a pretty while with swords and pistols, all keeping close order, so that one could not break the other. At last, the enemy shrinking a little, our men soon perceived it, pressed in upon them, and routed their whole body, some flying on one side, and others on the other, of the enemy's reserve. Our men pursued them with good execution about six miles. I, perceiving the reserve still unbroken, kept back my Major Whally from the pursuit, and with my own troop, and two troops more of my regiment, we got into a body. In this reserve was General Cavendish, who one while faced me, another while faced four of the Lincoln troops, which were all of ours that engaged the reserve, the rest being in pursuit of those who fled. General Cavendish charged the Lincolneers and routed them. Immediately I fell on his rear with my three troops, which did so astonish him, that he gave over the chase, and would have delivered himself from me; but, I pressing on, forced him down a hill, and below it drove the general and some of his soldiers into a quagmire, where my captain-lieutenant slew him with a thrust under his short ribs. The rest of the body was wholly routed, not one man staying on the place."

Thus was Gainſborough relieved ; but the victors had but a ſhort time of rejoicing, for within two or three hours, the routed army rallying, and joining with the reſt of Newcaſtle's army, marched againſt them ; whereupon they retreated to Lincoln that night in good order, and without any loſs, facing the enemy with three troops at a time, whiſt they drew off the reſt. Lincoln not being defenſible, Cromwell marched the next day to Boſton, to join the Earl of Manchester, who, with his new-raiſed forces, had reduced Lynn under the power of the parliament.

To prevent any farther addition to Manchester's forces, the Earl of Newcaſtle advanced with his army, and detached a ſtrong party of horſe and dragoons towards Boſton, appearing by their ſtandards to be eighty-ſeven troops, commanded by Sir John Henderſon, an old ſoldier, who, underſtanding that Cromwell was drawn out towards him with the horſe and dragoons, made haſte to engage him, before the Earl of Manchester, with the foot, could march up ; as accordingly it happened at a place called Winsby- field, near Horncaſtle. In the firſt ſhock Cromwell's horſe was killed and fell upon him, and as he roſe, he was again knocked down by the gentleman that charged him, ſuppoſed to be Sir Ingram Hopton, though others ſay Captain Portington, who afterwards plainly told him, " That he aimed at his noſe when he hit his horſe on the head." He never was in more danger in his life ; but with difficulty he got remounted on a poor horſe in a ſoldier's hand, and charged the enemy with great reſolution. The encounter was very ſharp, but laſted not an hour before the royaliſts were entirely routed by Manchester's troops, about fifteen hundred of them being killed, amongſt whom were Lord Widdrington, Sir Ingram Hopton, and other perſons of quality. Very few were killed on the parliament ſide. The routed forces were purſued by the

the parliamentarians almost as far as Lincoln; in which pursuit several of them were killed and taken prisoners, and many horses and arms taken. In pursuance of this victory, the Earl of Manchester marched directly to Lincoln, sat down before it, and summoned it, and afterwards took it by storm, with very considerable loss.

The event of the war being now very doubtful, the king and parliament began both of them to look for assistance from other nations. The former cast his eyes on Ireland, the latter on Scotland. The parliament of England had ever invited the Scots, from the commencement of the civil dissensions, to interpose their mediation, which they knew would be very little favourable to the king, and which for that reason he had declined. Early in the spring, 1643, this offer of mediation had been renewed, with no better success than before. The commissioners were also empowered to press the king to a compliance with the presbyterian worship and discipline. But this he absolutely refused, as well as to call a parliament in Scotland; so that the commissioners, finding themselves unable to prevail in any one of their demands, returned home highly dissatisfied. The English parliament, being now in great distress, gladly sent commissioners to Edinburgh, to treat of a more close confederacy with the Scottish nation. The person they principally trusted to on this occasion was Sir Henry Vane, who in eloquence, address, capacity, as well as in art and dissimulation, was not even surpassed by any one in that age so famous for active talents. By his persuasion was framed at Edinburgh the *Solemn League and Covenant*; which effaced all former protestations and vows taken in both kingdoms, and long maintained its credit and authority. In this covenant, the subscribers, besides engaging mutually to defend each other against all opponents, bound themselves to endeavour, without respect of persons, the extirpation of popery and prelacy, superstition, he-
 2 resy,

refy, and profaneness; to maintain the rights and privileges of parliaments, together with the king's authority; and to discover and bring to justice all incendiaries and malignants.

The king, to oppose the designs of the Westminster parliament, called one at Oxford, where it assembled; and England now saw, what it had never before seen, two parliaments sitting at one and the same time. This regal parliament voted the king supplies, which was the only purpose for which it was drawn together; and it had no sooner answered it, than it was prorogued, and never after convened.

The liturgy of the church of England was now abolished, and presbyterianism was established on the subversion of the former hierarchy. An ordinance was issued by the parliament enjoining every person to fast one day in the week, and the money thus saved was exacted in support of the common cause.

The king, seeing himself opposed by the united parliaments of England and Scotland, was led to make a truce with the rebellious Papists of Ireland, that he might re-enforce his army by the English troops then employed in Ireland to quell this turbulent spirit. Whereupon several Papists entered into the service of Charles, who drew upon himself thereby, the reproach of employing Papists to cut the throats of his Protestant subjects. The parliament voted that no quarter in any action should ever be given them. But Prince Rupert, by making some reprisals, soon repressed this inhumanity.

The campaign of 1644 proved very unfortunate to the royal cause. The forces brought from Ireland were landed at Moystne in North Wales, and put under the command of Lord Biron. They besieged and took the castles of Hawarden, Beeston, Acton, and Deddington-house. No place in Cheshire or the neighbourhood now adhered to the parliament, except Lantwich; and to this place Biron laid siege in the depth
of

of winter. Sir Thomas Fairfax, alarmed at so great a progress, assembled an army of four thousand men in Yorkshire; and, having joined Sir William Brereton, was approaching to the camp of the royalists. Biron and his soldiers, elated with successes in Ireland, entertained a most profound contempt for their enemies. Fairfax suddenly attacked their camp. The swelling of the river by a thaw divided one part of the army from another. That part exposed to Fairfax, being beat from their post, retired into the church at Acton, where, being furrounded, they were all taken prisoners. The other retreated with precipitation; and thus was dissipated or rendered useless that body of forces which had come from Ireland. This happened on the 25th of January; and on the 11th of April, Colonel Bellasis was totally defeated at Selby in Yorkshire by Sir Thomas Fairfax, who had returned from Cheshire with his victorious forces. Being afterwards joined by Lord Leven, the two generals sat down before the city of York; but, being unable to invest that city completely, they were obliged to content themselves with incommoding it by a loose blockade. Hopeton, having assembled a body of fourteen thousand men, endeavoured to break into Suffex, Kent, and the southern association, which seemed well disposed to receive him; but was defeated by Waller at Cherington. At Newark, however, Prince Rupert totally defeated the parliamentary army which besieged that place; and thus preserved the communication open between the king's northern and southern quarters.

The great advantages the parliament had gained in the north, seemed now to second their enterprizes, and finally to promise them success. Manchester having taken Lincoln, as mentioned in p. 437, had united his army to that of Leven and Fairfax; and York was now closely besieged by their numerous forces. That town, though vigorously defended by the Marquis of Newcastle, was reduced to the last extremity, when
 Prince

Prince Rupert, having joined Sir Charles Lucas who commanded Newcastle's horse, hastened to its relief with an army of eighteen thousand men. The Scots and parliamentary generals raised the siege, and, drawing up on Marston-moor, proposed to give battle to the royalists. Prince Rupert approached the town by another quarter, and, interposing the river Ouse between him and the enemy, safely joined his forces to those of Newcastle. The marquis endeavoured to persuade him, that, having so successfully effected his purpose, he ought to be contented with his present advantage, and leave the enemy, now much diminished by their losses, and discouraged by their ill success, to dissolve by those mutual dissensions which had begun to take place among them. The prince, however, hurried on by his natural impetuosity, pretended positive orders from the king; and, without condescending to consult with Newcastle, immediately issued orders for battle, and on the seventh of July drew up his army on Marston-moor. The prince's army now consisted of fourteen thousand foot, and nine thousand horse; its main body was commanded by the generals, Goring, Porter, and Tellier; the prince headed the right wing, and Sir Charles Lucas and Colonel Hurry the left. The main body of the parliament army, which was at least equal to the prince's in number, was commanded by the Earl of Manchester, the Earl of Leven, and Lord Fairfax; the right wing was headed by Sir Thomas Fairfax, and the left by Oliver Cromwell. The charge was begun with such courage and intrepidity by the left wing of the parliament's army, that Prince Rupert, contrary to his usual fortune, was put to flight. Newcastle's regiment alone, resolute to conquer or perish, obstinately kept their ground. In the other wing, Sir Thomas Fairfax and Colonel Lambert broke through the royalists, and, transported with the ardour of pursuit, soon reached their victorious friends, who were also engaged

engaged in the pursuit of the enemy. After this tempest was past, Lucas, who commanded the royalists in this wing, reducing his broken forces to order, attacked the parliamentary cavalry, threw them into confusion, pushed them upon their own infantry, and routed the remainder of that wing. But, when ready to seize on their carriages and baggage, he perceived Cromwell returning from the pursuit of the other wing of the royalists; and both of them were surprized to find that they must again renew the combat, for that victory which each of them imagined they had already obtained. The front of the battle was now changed, and each army possessed the ground which had been occupied by the enemy at the beginning of the day. This second battle was equally furious with the first: but, after both sides had exerted the utmost courage, the victory was obtained by the parliament's forces, the whole train of artillery taken, and the royalists driven out of the field, after four thousand of them were slain, and fifteen hundred taken prisoners; while the loss on the side of parliament is said to have amounted only to three hundred common soldiers.

The loss of this battle was the most considerable blow which the king had sustained during the whole contest. Rupert, the next day, sent Newcastle word, that he was determined to march away with his army towards the king; and the marquis returned in answer to this, that he was resolved to retire from his command, and leave the kingdom. These intentions were executed with the same precipitation as they were formed. York, being thus abandoned, was obliged to surrender in a few days. The Scots then, marching northward, joined ten thousand additional forces, under the command of the Earl of Calendar; and soon after took Newcastle by storm.

On June 29, there was a fight at Cropedy-bridge, between the king and Waller, wherein the latter was worsted. The king then followed Essex into the west,

where he penned him up in Cornwall, and reduced him to such extremity, that, having luckily found means to save his cavalry, he withdrew by ship to Plymouth, leaving his foot with Major-general Skipton, who capitulated for them with the king, and they were permitted to retire, leaving their arms behind them.

The king, upon this advantage, thought of marching directly to London; but, altering his resolution, upon the vigilance of the parliament in recruiting their armies, he determined to retire to his old quarters at Oxford. But first he had a mind to take Dennington-castle, and so marched to Newbury, about a mile from it. Upon this the three armies of the parliament, under Essex, Manchester, and Waller, being joined, advanced thither also. And here a second battle was fought on October 27, as obstinate as the former, each side repulsing the other by turns. The king in the end had the worst of it, though he was far from being entirely routed. He drew off in the night, leaving his cannon and baggage in Dennington-castle; and then retired to Oxford. His present danger excited his friends to redoubled efforts; he levied new forces, and had some slight success. But this appearance of good fortune did not continue long; his army was turbulent and seditious, that of the parliament every day improved in discipline, and obeyed their leaders from principle. About four months after the fight at Marston-moor happened the second battle at Newbury, where Cromwell is said to have endangered the king's person, had not the Earl of Cleveland interposed, and bore off the pursuit. This battle was the occasion of an irreconcilable breach between him and the Earl of Manchester. Cromwell accused the earl of cowardly betraying the parliament, for that he might very easily have defeated the king's army, when he drew off his cannon, if he would have suffered him with his own brigade to have charged them in their retreat.

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END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.









